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Batavia Illustrata:

Or, A VIEW of the POLICY and COMMERCE OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

Containing a particular Account

Of their Government both Civil and Ecclesiastical.

Of the Office of Stadtholder ; with Memoirs of the Lives and Actions of the Princes of *Orange* who bore that Title. As also a brief and impartial Account of the Cases of the famous *Barneveldt* and the *De Wits*.

Of the *Dutch* Fisheries and Manufactures.

Of the Rise and Progress of their *East* and *West India* Companies.

Of their Trade to *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Muscovy*, and other Parts of the North.

Also to *Germany*; to the *Austrian Netherlands*; to *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*; to the *Levant*, *Turkey*, &c. and to the *British* Dominions.

Of their Alliances with the late Emperor ; with *France* ; with *Spain* ; and with *Great Britain*.

Including in the latter, a Comparison between the Commerce of the *English* and *Dutch* ; and the Articles in which the latter interfere with, and exceed the former.

With a brief Account of the Manner in which the *Dutch* carry on the Herring Fishery.

The Whole Illustrated with *Historical Facts*, and *Observations* of the highest Importance to the *Trade* and *Navigation* of *Great-Britain*.

By *ON SLOW BURRISH*, Esq; Secretary to His Majesty's Commissaries for Settling the Tariff at *ANTWERP*.

THE SECOND EDITION.

THE *DUTCH* are our *RIVALS* in *Trade* and *Navigation* ; Yet, They must not be destroy'd. They are really our *OUTGUARD* upon the *Continent* ; and yet we may do Too-much for them. See p. 569.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. OSBORN, at the Golden Ball, in Pater-noster Row

M.DCC.XLII.

DS
146
1742





To the Right Honorable
Sir *ROBERT WALPOLE*,
First LORD of the TREASURY,
CHANCELLOR and UNDER TREASURER of the EXCHEQUER, One of HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONORABLE PRIVY COUNCIL, and KNIGHT of *the most Noble ORDER of the GARTER*.

SIR,



IF Dedications to great Men, are often the Effect of Ambition, Interest, or Vanity, yet They are sometimes inspir'd by more vertuous Motives, and an Author runs no Hazard of being thought,
A 2 guilty

ii DEDICATION.

guilty of Flattery, when He does Justice to a Merit, which all the World has either admired or envied. A Description of the established Methods of *Government*, a View of the *Commerce*, and political Reflections on the *Interests* of a neighbouring *State*, could be no where so properly addressed, as to a Person who has for many Years sustained the most Important Part, in the Administration of our own.

The just Mixture of *Prerogative* and *Liberty*, which is to be found in the *Constitution* of *England*, has long made It the Envy and Admiration of our Neighbours; but tho' every *Englishman* is ready to boast the Happiness of our Constitution, It will be owned We have not always cultivated It to the best Advantage. The *Commons*, ever jealous of the Power of their
Sovereign,

DEDICATION. iii

Sovereign, have frequently distressed the Administration, and if They have sometimes had the Glory of bringing illustrious Criminals to Justice, there are likewise Instances to be given, when influenced by factious and designing Men, they have broke in with Violence upon the wisest Measures, and blindly sacrificed their Security, to ill grounded, and unseasonable Suspicions.

It has been your Part *Sir*, to reconcile those Divisions which have hindred Us from knowing our own Force, and how well You have succeeded in so generous and difficult a Task, is strongly illustrated by the great Figure *England* has made abroad during your Administration; the natural Consequence of Harmony in the different Parts of our *Legislature*.

The

iv DEDICATION.

The Share You have had in bringing Your Country to this Height of Greatness and Reputation, by which HIS MAJESTY is enabled to preserve that *Equality of Power*, between the several *Princes of Europe*, so necessary to the Welfare both of Them and Ourselves, has been repaid with the Confidence of two great *Princes*; and if You are almost the only *English Minister*, whose Glory It has been to pass from the Service of one *Royal Master* into that of another, with the same Degree of *Trust and Power*, yet permit me to say, You are still more eminent for an unexampled Ease and Freedom in the Dispatch of Business, and for that Steadiness in your Friendship, which shines at the Head of those Talents, that have united the Confidence and Goodwill of the People, with the
Favour

DEDICATION. v

Favour of the *Crown*, and the Authority inseparable from high Employments.

I am,

SIR,

*Your most Obedient, and
most humble Servant,*

Onslow Burrish.



T O T H E R E A D E R

TH*E Importance and Delicacy of the Subjects that are treated in the following Sheets, ought perhaps to have deterred a young Man from attempting Them; but when the Die is once thrown, 'tis fruitless to repine, though the Cast proves against Us.*

There are several Errors of the Press in this Book, as in most others, which the judicious Reader will correct, and for other Faults, We are told by a very good Hand, that 'tis in vain to beg Indulgence.

Un Auteur a Genoux dans une humble Preface,
Au Lecteur qu' Il ennuye a Beau demander Grace.*

This I can say in Recommendation of the Work, that I have every where wrote with Truth, and Impartiality, according to my Judgment.

* BOILEAU.



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BATAVIA ILLUSTRATA

PART I.

Of the METHODS of GOVERNMENT,
established in the UNITED PROVINCES.

INTRODUCTION.



WAR is often necessary for the
Support of *Liberty*, and the
ancient BATAVI were Lovers
both of one and the other.
JULIUS CÆSAR knew their
Valour when He opposed
Them so successfully to the GAULS, whom
B They

They often defeated. The ROMANS Themselves stood in Fear of this warlike Nation. (a) Their *Cavalry* was then the best in the World, and their *Infantry* fought with equal Courage, in Fens and Marishes, as when posted on firm Land; (b) a Quality peculiar to Them, and derived from the watry Situation of their Country. FIDELITY was another Virtue attributed to the old BATAVI, as well as Courage, and accordingly the *Roman Emperors* very often had their Live-Guards from amongst Them. They had the honourable Title of Allies of the *Empire*, in Favour of which They were exempt from all Taxes and Tributes, (c) and after having been some Time associated to the *Empire*, The *Romans* styled Them FRIENDS and BROTHERS, as appears by this Inscription.

Gens Batavorum Amici et Fratres Rom. Imp. (d)

(a) Igitur lacescentibus Batavis Trepidatio orta. Tacit: *L. v. p. 335.*

(b) Germanorum Cohortem a Cæsaribus olim ad Custodiam Corporis institutam, multis que Experimentis fidelissimam, dissolvit Servius Galba, ac sine ullo incommodo in Patriam remisit. Sueron in Galba.

(c) Manet honor et antiquæ Societatis insigne: nam nec Tributis contunduntur, tantum in usum Prætorum sepositi, velut Teia atque Arma, bellis reservantur. Tacit Germanic.

(d) Description historique du Gouvernement des Provinces unies par Monfr. Basnage.

The

The BATAVI come originally from HESSE, under the Conduct of their *King BATTON*, reduced to fly his Country by the Artifices of a *Mother in Law* who attempted to poison him. (a) The first Place They possessed Themselves of was an Island, formed by the *Waal* and the *Rhine*, which to this Day retains the name of BATAW, from whence following the Course of this last River, They fate down at one of those Places where it disembogues it self into the Sea, and named it CATWICK. (b)

'Tis pretended that CLODIUS CIVILIS derived his Extraction from this *King BATTON*, but be that as it will, He was still more ennobled by his Virtues than his Descent. This Person attempted with equal Policy and Courage to free his Country from the *Roman Servitude*, and was at first successful against CEREALIS ; but as nothing is more inconstant than the Chance of War, the *Roman General* being reinforced with the *German Legions*, was Victorious in his Turn, and *Clodius* was at last entirely defeated. (c)

(a) See Basnage ut supra.

(b) Cattruin vicus.

(c) Travellers see the History of Clodius Civilis finely painted by *Van Helben* in a Cabinet of the States General at the *Hague*.

The ROMAN EMPERORS were from this Time obliged to build strong Forts, and entertain large Garrisons on the Banks of the *Rhine*, to repress the frequent Insurrections of the BATAVI, occasioned as well by a native Love of *Liberty* as the *Severity* of the *Roman Commanders*. CONSTANTIUS had two Reasons for ordering the BATAVIAN COHORTS to attend him in the third Expedition He had projected against the *Persians*: first that he might be sure of having *good Soldiers*, and secondly, that he might deprive JULIAN of their Assistance; of whom He already began to be jealous. But the BATAVI would not undertake so desperate a March from one Side of the *Roman Empire* to the other, and took the thing so ill of *Constantius*, that They swore Themselves to a Man the Friends of *Julian*, and vow'd to prove every Danger to set him on the Throne.

Upon the Declension of *Charlemagne's* Family, the great Officers of the Crown took Occasion from the Weakness of the reigning Prince, to make their Governments Hereditary in their own Families; and upon these Occasions the Provinces of the *Low Countries* underwent several Revolutions. Very often They were disjoined and separated one from another; and sometimes a single Prince would reunite several of them in Subjection to Himself.

self. 'Tis said that *Radbod* who commanded in *Frizeland* was actually *King* of that *Province*. (a) *Gelderland* and *Brabant* had their *Dukes*; *Holland* and *Flanders* were govern'd by *Earls*; and *Utrecht* had her *Bishops*, who made *Themselves* Masters of that *City* with all its *Dependancies*. The *meek Prelates* became *warring Sovereigns*, and the *Sword* and *Helmet* often usurped upon the *Mitre* and *Crozier*. Afterwards, when these, and the other *Provinces* of the *Low Countries* came to be united under one Head, as they were successively in the Families of *BURGUNDY* and *AUSTRIA*, They still retained their distinct and antient Forms of Government. I do not think it very material to give a genealogical account of the *Princes* of *Burgundy* 'Tis sufficient to observe that there have been three extraordinary *Revolutions* in the *Low Countries*. The First united them in the SECOND BRANCH of the FAMILY of *BURGUNDY*; by the second They passed to the HOUSE of *AUSTRIA*, and by the third, more bloody than the former, this great *Body* was dismembred of *Seven Provinces*, which were forced to unite for their own Defence, whilst the other ten remained in Subjection

(a) See *Basnage* ut sup. P. 2.

to the *Princes* of the *Austrian* Family, or Devolved back to FRANCE, either by Conquest or Treaty.

MARY of BURGUNDY, after the Death of her Father LEWIS the HARDY, who was killed before NANCY in 1476, had a mind to marry the DAUPHIN Son of LEWIS XI KING of FRANCE, and the Generality of the *Flemish* Lords wish'd passionately for this Alliance, because most of their Estates lay on the SAMBRE, and they knew very well that LEWIS would not fail to confiscate Them, if their *Princess* married a Stranger. But the *French* King extended the Hatred He had born the *Duke* of *Burgundy* to his Daughter, and would never consent to the Marriage tho' He flattered the *Flemmings* with the Hopes of it. He had projected on the contrary how to divest that *Princess* of all her Territories ; but this Design did not take Effect, notwithstanding the *Treachery* of some *Flemish* Men of Quality, who were over-aw'd and work'd upon to give up several Towns to Him: and the *Princess* irritated at his Behaviour, married MAXIMILIAN Son of the EMPEROR FREDERICK the III, to whom she brought the DUTCHY of (a)

(a) See les Souverains du monde Tom. prem. pag. 8.

BURGUNDY and the seventeen PROVINCES of the NETHERLANDS.

This PRINCESS died soon after her Marriage, leaving two Children, PHILIP the *Handsome* and the PRINCESS MARGARET, under the *Tuition* of their *Father* ; But the People of GHENT contested this *Guardianship* ; made MAXIMILIAN a Prisoner, and ask'd Assistance of the King of FRANCE against him, who was well enough disposed to afford it them ; for CHARLES VIII, then at the Head of that *Monarchy*, was already apprehensive of MAXIMILIAN'S Greatness, who being elected *King* of the *Romans*, might very easily become too formidable a Neighbour. In this Fear, CHARLES resolved to aid the *Flemmings* ; FLANDERS in Course became the Seat of War ; and MAXIMILIAN had abundance of Trouble to reduce and soften the Obstinacy of his Enemies

He was farther traversed by the *King* of *France*, in the Design he had formed of making an Alliance with the HEIRESS of BRETAGNE, whom *Charles* got out of his Hands ; and to aggravate the Affront, sent him back his Daughter without restoring the *Dutchy* of *Burgundy*, which had been relinquish'd to Him as her *Dower* ; upon which *Maximilian* married his Son, PHILIP the HANDSOME, to JANE of ARRAGON, Daughter of ISABELLA and

FERDINAND the CATHOLICK, and his Daughter PRINCESS MARGARET, to JOHN PRINCE of SPAIN.

This DON JOHN succeeded to the *Low Countries* in Right of his Wife, but died young, and left only one Son, that did not long survive him; by whose Death PHILIP the HANDSOME came to inherit the Crown, in Right of his Wife, JANE of ARRAGON, Sister to one, and Aunt to the other of the deceased Princes. PHILIP mounted the Throne of CASTILE in 1505, and died in the succeeding Year, leaving his Son CHARLES the 5th, to the Tuition of LEWIS the 12th KING of FRANCE, who remitted the Care of his Education to MONSIEUR de CHIEVRES, one of the principal Lords of the *Low Countries*, who made him say MONSIEUR BASNAGE, the greatest Man of the Age he lived in.

This PRINCE saw himself at once, EMPEROR, KING of SPAIN, MASTER of the SEVENTEEN PROVINCES of the NETHERLANDS, which he united to the EMPIRE under the *Title* of the *Circle of Burgundy*; LORD of both the INDIES, and of the Spanish Territories in AMERICA; with many other *Dominions* and *Prctentions* which it is useless to enumerate. His Life was one constant Pursuit after *Glory* and *Power*; and

and He had well-nigh finished his Career with great Reputation to himself, when in the Year 1555, being weary of Government, and apprehensive that a single Disgrace in the Evening of Life, might tarnish the Memory of his former Actions, He took a Resolution to abdicate his Dominions; which he settled in Part on his Brother *FERDINAND*, to whom He resigned the *Empire*, with the Hereditary Countries of the House of *Austria* in *Germany*; and the Rest on his Son *PHILIP* the SECOND, who had *SPAIN*, the *Low Countries*, his Dominions in *ITALY*, and Conquests in *AMERICA*. *Philip* received the *Netherlands* from his Father in a very flourishing Condition. They reckoned up in that small Extent of Country, above *Three hundred and fifty* walled Towns, and *Six thousand three hundred* considerable Villages, well peopled with expert and industrious Inhabitants, equally proper for War, Commerce and Navigation.

CHARLES the FIFTH chose *Brussels* for the Theatre of his Abdication; whither having convened the States, He renounced in a full Assembly, (leaning on the Arm of *WILLIAM I. PRINCE* of *ORANGE*,) all *Right* and *Title* to the *Sovereignty* of the 17 Provinces in Favour of *Philip*, Who Swore to preserve the *Privileges* of the Country; and the Deputies

at

at the same Time, took the Oath of Allegiance to Him.

CHARLES went for SPAIN in the Month of *September* of the same Year, leaving *Philip* in the *Netherlands*, having recommended it to Him, to take particular Care of those Provinces, as one of the most considerable Branches of his Dominions. But the NOBILITY and PEOPLE soon felt a Difference betwixt the *Father* and the *Son*. (a) CHARLES had been engaged in several Wars, and had often commanded his Armies in Person; but PHILIP seemed disposed to govern his *Dominions and Forces*, by the Orders which He directed to Them from his *Cabinet*; CHARLES was sweet and affable; PHILIP grave and austere in all his Manners; the *First* spoke the principal Languages of EUROPE, and accommodated Himself with Ease to the Customs of all *Nations*: PHILIP, both in Language and every Thing else appeared entirely *Spanish*; from whence it was concluded, that his Favour would be confined to that NATION; that he would retire into *Spain*, and always govern from thence the Countries which his Father had left Him. CHARLES in his latter Days, had

(a) See *Bentivoglio's History of the Wars of Flanders*, Part I. Lib. I. Page 5.

conceived Jealousies of the NETHERLANDERS on account of RELIGION : That of LUTHER was already established in GERMANY, and CALVIN'S had made a great Progress in FRANCE. Both One and the Other, had been introduced into these Provinces, by the Zeal and Intercourse, of those who professed Them in Germany, France, and England. The ANABAPTISTS had likewise got Footing amongst Them, who, tho' very different from those of MUNSTER, were, however, equally averse to the CHURCH of ROME. CHARLES had exhibited very *rigorous Edicts* against Those who separated from the Church, and 'tis affirmed, that there had already suffered Death in his Time, (*b*) *about One hundred thousand Persons on account of Religion.* But the Number and Courage of Those who embraced these different Opinions, instead of being diminished by *Severity and Persecution*, increased every Day, and sometimes they had even rescued out of the Hands of the Officers, those who were led to Execution. This had obliged Mary Queen of Hungary, then Regent of the Low Countries, to engage the EMPEROR her BROTHER, to come thither

(a) Grotius. Ann. Lib. 1. Prg. 12.

that he might be convinced this Rigour only served to inflame the Sore. The same Edicts, however, were afterwards confirmed by PHILIP, and in Consequence of Them, a multitude of Persons suffered the severest Punishments

Indeed, The People shewed a ready Disposition for the *Reformation of Religion*, and this made CARDINAL BENTIVOGLIO, say, 'That so great an Evil exacted no less powerful Remedies, than those that were applied.' The GOOD CARDINAL commends these *sanguinary Edicts*, and attributes at the same Time both to *Charles* and *Philip*, a great deal of *Justice* and *Religion*; without reflecting, that JUSTICE indisputably consists in rendering to every One That which belongs to Him; a Virtue, absolutely incompatible with *War* undertaken thro' mere *Ambition*, of which They made no Manner of Scruple; and with the Oppression of Nations, which was never of the least Consideration with Them.

RELIGION is certainly a Disposition of Mind, which engages Us to render to GOD, That which is due to Him, or the Observation of those Laws, which he hath given Us in the GOSPEL. The Cardinal could not cite any Precept of It, that commands SOVERAINS to *imprison, banish, ruin,*
or

or *kill* Those who have different Sentiments of *divine Worship* from *themselves*, or the *Doctrines* of that *Theology*, which happens to be established in their *Dominions*; when in other Respects, They conform faithfully to the *Civil Jurisdiction*. Nor are CHRISTIANS any where commanded to embrace the Opinions, either of their *Princes*, or of the *Multitude*, in *Cases* of *Religion*, but *Those only*, which they are *perswaded*, to be *conformable* to the REVELATIONS of the GOSPEL.

In Defiance, however, to these Principles, both of Reason, and Religion, They established in the *Low-Countries*, an Extraordinary *Tribunal*, to cleanse them of what they called HERESY. This Court was filled with CHURCHMEN, and extremely resembled the *Spanish and Italian Inquisitions*. The FLEMMINGS complained of it in the Beginning, and justly loaded it with the most odious Names, not doubting that its Effects would encrease, as They soon found from the *Imprisonments, Confiscations, Corporal Punishments, and cruel Executions*, which in a little Time grew common over all the Country. (a)

(a) *Grotius Ann. Lib. 1. Page 10. and 11.*

'Twas not only the PEOPLE who cry'd out upon this Conduct, but Persons of the highest *Distinction*, for their *Nobility*, *Alliances*, *Services*, *Friends*, and *Employments*. There was a considerable Number of These in the Country, but above the Rest, Two, who attracted the Eyes of all the World. WILLIAM of NASSAU, PRINCE of ORANGE, *Governour* of the Provinces of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht*; and LAMERAL EARL of EGMONT, *Governour* of *Flanders* and *Artois*. These two Lords, though equally *loved* and *esteemed*, were of *Characters* entirely different. The PRINCE of ORANGE, more proper for *Intrigue* than *War*, was a *prudent* Man and *penetrating*; *popular* in all his *Manners*; never *speaking* but to the *Purpose*; a Man of *Council*; capable to *digest* the most intricate Affairs, and to conduct Them in the *ablest* Manner. The EARL of EGMONT, on the contrary, was more proper for *War* than *Peace*; free in his *Words* and *Thoughts*; more disposed to familiarize Himself with *military Men* than the *Citizens*; and fitter to advance Himself by *Arms*, than to gain Favour by the *Address* of a *Court*. The principal Employments, were divided between these *Lords*, and such of the *Nobility* as they patronized.

Not one amongst Them had openly appeared displeased at the *Edicts* against the *Protestants*

testants when They were first published The PRINCE of ORANGE born of *Protestant Parents*, was the only Person the Court was jealous of, who, when He was *Hostage in France*, at the Court of HENRY the *Second*, for the Execution of the PEACE of CAMBRAY, *discovered* and *advertised* his Friends in the low Countries, that the *French King* consulted with Philip the *Second*, on a proper Method, to exterminate the *Protestants*. The Rest of the *Nobility*, who were not so rich, and had been very expensive, were put to it to support Themselves. They saw with Regret the Dispositions the KING made for leaving Them; apprehensive of losing by his Absence, those Advantages which they had enjoyed whilst CHARLES resided amongst Them. And accordingly They had no sooner penetrated his *Design* of returning into *Spain*, than their Discontent was visible.

The ECCLESIASTICKS, especially the REGULAR ABBOTS, (a) were little better satisfied than the NOBILITY. This ill Temper sprang from the Erection of NEW BISHOPRICKS which it was thought proper to establish, under Pretence that the BISHOPS might take

(a) *Bentivoglio* lib. 1. Page 6.

more Care of their *Diocesses*, which were before too large for the *Prelates* to have a sufficient Eye over the People that depended on Them. But the *Court* was now obliged, for the *more honourable Subsistence* of the BISHOPS, to *suppress several ABBIES*, whose Revenues were assigned for their Support; and whereas the ABBOTS had formerly taken Place in the *Assembly* of the STATES, They were now forced to relinquish their *Rank* to the BISHOPS, and could no longer command the *Suffrages* of the first Order. One might have expected that the *Clergy* would have seen the *Erection* of these new *Bishopricks* with Pleasure, which must necessarily elevate the *Pomp* and *Majesty* of the CHURCH; but It seems the ABBOTS did not think the *Dignity* of the HIERARCHY by any means an Equivalent for the *Loss* of their *Revenues*, and accordingly They were full as early in their Complaints as the Laity, and expressed their Chagrin with all the *Vivacity* peculiar to Men of their Order.

PHILIP having resolved to go into *Spain*, as the principal Part of his Dominions, and from whence He believed He could most commodiously govern the Rest which were very widely disjointed, the Question was, to whom He should commit the *Government* of the *Low Countries*. 'Tis said He was at first unresolved if
He

He should trust so important an Employ to his Cousin CHRISTIANA, DUTCHESS of LORRAINE, or to MARGARET DUTCHESS of PARMA, who was, his Father's *natural Daughter*. But He soon resolved in Favour of the Latter, who was born in *Flanders*, and whole Husband, the DUKE of PARMA and PLACENTIA, *had a considerable Estate in the Milaneze*, Part of Philip's Dominions in *Italy*; besides which, *She offered to send her Son Alexander to the Court of Spain*. 'Tis added that the Prince of Orange favoured the Dutchess of Lorraine, whose Daughter he courted; which to a Prince of Philip's Complexion was Reason enough for not giving the Employ in Question to that Princess: and besides this He believed she would be too much influenced by the King of France, a Neighbour of Lorraine. It was in Conformity to the same Politicks, that Philip hindered the Prince of Orange's Marriage with Christiana's Daughter, that his Power in *Flanders* might not be augmented by the Nearness of that Princess's Territories.

Thus the GOVERNMENT, in Appearance was placed in the Hands of the Dutchess of Parma; but GRANVELLE, afterwards CARDINAL of that Name, newly created Archbishop of Malines, had the absolute Direction and Secret of Affairs. This was a Man of low

Extraction; his Father NICHOLAS PERRÉNOT, (a) *Sieur de Granvelle*, had advanced Himself by his *Address* and *blind Obedience* to the Orders of *Charles the fifth*, to the Office of *Secretary*. He had a Share in the most secret Councils, and after having served his Prince with uncommon Vigilance, He left at his Death, the *same Employments* to his Son, who was not less *cunning* than Himself, but more *ambitious*, and *enterprizing*. BENTIVOGLIO, has left Us his Character in the following Words. ‘He was says He, a Man that had
‘ learned under the Tuition of his Fa-
‘ ther, and in the Management of the Secret
‘ Affairs of CHARLES, to govern *absolutely*,
‘ rather than content Himself with an Au-
‘ thority *limited by Law*: He had passed, adds
‘ He, from the Service of the *Father*, to
‘ that of the *Son*, and had been employed in
‘ the *same Affairs*, with the *same Power*. He
‘ was left with the DUTCHESS of PARMA, as
‘ an *Arbiter* and *Director* of her *Conduct*,
‘ and He did not know how to moderate the
‘ Authority which the KING gave Him Leave
‘ to assume: He was naturally *haughty*, and
‘ *choleric*, with a Behaviour more proper for
‘ a *Layman*, than an *Ecclesiastick*, He loved

(a) See Grotius Lib. 1. Page 3.

‘ to make an *Ostentation* of his *Credit* with
‘ the KING rather than to hide It ; and to
‘ appear superior to all the World, without
‘ giving Himself any Pain about the Op-
‘ position he might meet with, or the *Envy*
‘ that it might draw on Him ; and This in
‘ a manner, that was rather *imperious* than
‘ *modest*.

It is easy to imagine, that the *Prince* of Orange, and *Count Egmont* could very hardly brook a Man of this Disposition: He had likewise offended PHILIP of MONTMORANCY COUNT HORN, whom he had hindered from obtaining the *Government* of *Gelderland*, to which he aspired. Complaints began to be made of Him, by all Sorts of Persons, who could not bear that a *single Stranger* should govern all, and trample upon the NOBILITY so outrageously ; ’twas every where loudly affirmed, that it was to his *Council*, the INQUISITION owed its *Establishment* ; and the Complaints were universal, that he had not the least Regard to the *Priviledges* of the *Country*.

The Seeds of Discontent thus propagated during the *Ministry* of *Granvelle*, broke out into a Flame under the DUKE of ALVA, whom PHILIP sent some Time after into the *Netherlands* ; where we find Him executing with a *barbarous Activity*,

the most rigid Commands of an *unjust Administration*, with a *Rage*, and *Violence*, so unprecedented, that he has been deservedly styled the most *Cruel* of *Mankind*.

The PROVINCES of HOLLAND and ZEALAND, which had been for several Ages subject to the same *Prince*, were the first to unite Themselves for the Support of their *Liberty*, by a particular Alliance in the Year 1576. (a) The PRINCE of ORANGE WILLIAM of NASSAU, Governor for the King of SPAIN over those Provinces, was the Author of this Treaty, by which they invested Him with the *supream Authority*, to govern and conduct Them, in all Matters relating to the War; which they did not openly avow to be against the King of Spain, but in Opposition to the violent and unjust Government of the Spaniards and Strangers. It is even said in the eighth Article of the Prince's Instructions, that his EXCELLENCY, in the King's Name, as Count of Holland and Zealand, should administer Justice, by the provincial Council of the Court of Holland. It is no where pretended that the War was undertaken, for the support of the

(a) See the second Proof of *Wicquefort's Hist. Dutch and French*.

Protestant Religion against the *Papish*: Tho' indeed, the *Constraint* that was put upon the *Consciences* of the *Reformed*, could not fail to weigh with Them, but the Violation of their civil Rights, was in all likelyhood a more powerful Motive, and indeed it is evident that the *War* was entered into, for the Defence of the common Liberty, and Priviledges of the Country, since the ROMAN CATHOLICKS engaged in It, equally with the *Reformed*. It was insinuated, however, in the Preamble to the *Princes Instructions*, that It was necessary to establish a *sound Regulation* of the Honour due to GOD, and the *Propagation* of his *holy Word*; and they go something farther in the fifteenth Article, where It is stipulated, ' That as to what respects Religion, ' His HIGHNESS shall admit and maintain, the Exercise of the *evangelical reformed Religion*, and shall *supersede* and *abolish* the Exercise of all *Religions contrary* ' to the GOSPEL. Not permitting, however, that any *Constraint* be put on Persons in *Matters of Conscience*, or that the least *Vexation, Injury, or Damage* be offered to any One: Establishing further, ' with respect to the *Exercise of Religion*, such a Regulation, as shall be consistent with ' the *State of Affairs*, and of the *Cities*, for

‘ the greater *Security* and *Conveniency* of the
 ‘ PEOPLE, preserving a due Regard for
 ‘ the *Honour* of GOD.’ It will be easily
 concluded, from the *known Moderation* of the
Prince of Orange, that He would not per-
 mit Them, to use the least *Severity* towards
 any *dissenting Body*: It seemed but reasona-
 ble that as no One was *disquieted* in the
Practice of his Religion, the REFORMED,
 who made the *far greater Number*, and were
Masters of the Country should have the
Churches for the Use of their Own

The Example of these two Provinces,
 drew several others to Unite, who at last
 entred into an Alliance with *Holland* and
Zealand, which is called the PACIFICATION
 of GHENT, from being concluded in that
 Town But several of these Provinces fell a-
 gain under the *Spanish Jurisdiction*. Those who
 preserved their *Liberty*, are, GELDERLAND,
 comprehending the COUNTY of ZUTPHEN;
 HOLLAND, with WEST FRIEZELAND;
 ZEALAND, UTRECHT, FRIZELAND,
 OVERTISSEL; and GRONINGHEN, which
 takes in the OMMELANDS, a Country situ-
 ated between the Rivers EMS, and LAWER.
 These Provinces entered into a very strict
Alliance, on the 3d of January 1579; (a)

(a) See *Wicqefort's Proofs* Numl. 3.

which

which is called the UNION of UTRECHT, and gave Birth to the *Commonwealth of the United Provinces*. There is likewise a great deal of *Moderation* observed in this Treaty with Respect to *Religion*, since each *Province* reserves to Herself, the *Liberty of regulating ecclesiastical Affairs, within her respective Jurisdiction*. (a) They had Reason to order as They did, that the reformed Religion should be the predominant, and that *Those only*, Who were Members of It, should be capable of *bearing Offices* in the State: But They declare at the same Time against *Persecution*, and invite other *Provinces* to join Them, with an exprefs Declaration, that they should be left at Liberty to exercise the RELIGION of ROME if They thought fit. It would neither have been *decent*, nor consistent with *natural Equity*, and *Prudence*, for those who had suffered so much under the *Persecutions* of ALVA, to set up a *Tribunal* in *Holland* parallel to That from which they fled; nor to *patronize a murdering Zeal*, the Effects of which they had felt so severely: And in conformity to This, They resolved not only to tolerate the ROMAN CATHOLICKS, but all other SECTARIES like-

(a) See *Grætius's Apology*.

wife, and instead of employing *Fire* and *Faggot*, to attempt their Conversion by Examples of *Moderation* and *Humanity*.

This *Confederacy* made War upon the *Spaniards* more than two Years, without naming a *Renunciation* of their *Obedience* to the *King of Spain*; till in 1581, (a) the *United Provinces*, by a solemn Edict of the twentieth of *January*, made an ABDICATION OF PHILIP the 2d, whom they declare to have forfeited all *Right* to the *Sovereignty* of the *Low Countries*: The STATES GENERAL there describe very well, the DUTIES of the SOVEREIGN, and the Infringements which had been made on their Priviledges, by the *King of Spain*. This was their first avowed Attempt for *Liberty*, which they had almost lost in the *Sequel*, and the Preservation of It, appears by the History of those Times, to have been rather owing to *divine Providence*, than either their *Courage*, or good *Conduct*, how eminent so ever.

The UNITED PROVINCES do not form one SINGLE REPUBLICK, but are a CONFEDERACY of seven distinct STATES, Each retaining her proper SOVEREIGNTY,

(a) See *Wicquefort's Proofs*, No. 4.

but united together, for their common and reciprocal Defence, to throw off the YOKE of ROYALTY, and maintain Themselves in an *Independancy* of all other Powers. EACH of these PROVINCES contains several Towns, Who, as so many little States, possess likewise within themselves, several Parts of *Sovereign Power*. Thus, as the STATES GENERAL, can neither make *Peace* nor *War*; form *Alliances*, or levy *Money* upon the *confederate Body* of the *Union*, without the *express Consent* of each PROVINCE; neither have the PROVINCIAL STATES Power to conclude any One of these Points, without the *unanimous Concurrence* of all the TOWNS, who have a *Right to depute* to their ASSEMBLY.





SECT. I.
OF THE
TOWN *Government.*



THE *Supream Authority* of the Towns is lodged in their respective SENATES, or TOWN-COUNCILS. Each *City* has her distinct Laws, Customs, and Priviledges. (a) The Number of SENATORS is not the same in all the Cities: the *Senate* of AMSTERDAM consists of *thirty six*

(a) See the *grand Priviledge*, or Dutch *magna Charta*, granted by MARY of BURGUNDY, Anno 1476.

Members, Part of whom have the Direction of *political Affairs*, and others the Administration of *Justice*. The Dignity of *Senator* is for Life, unless forfeited by male Administration, or given up by a voluntary Resignation of Burghship, or a Removal of Habitation. Sir *William Temple*, and after Him, *Monsieur le Clerc*, are of Opinion, that the Senate was formerly elected by a Majority of all the *Burgesses of the Town*, but that to avoid the Confusion inseparable from large Assemblies, and I may add for other secret Reasons, the *MAGISTRATES* of a certain *City of HOLLAND*, so ordered the Business, that the *PEOPLE* in a general Assembly gave up their Right of *ELECTION*; since which Time the *SENATORS* have filled up all Vacancies in their own Body; and this *Example* has been followed by all the other Towns of the Province. *Monsieur B * ** on the contrary tells us there are no Traces to be found in the *antient Chronicles* of any popular Election, and that *William the Monk of Egmont* who speaks so often of the *Town Councils of Holland*, and those that governed Them in the twelve and thirteenth Centuries, makes no Mention of this *Privilege* of the *People*. It is not very material for us to ascertain which of these Opinions is true. Possibly the first is so, and *Monsieur B * ** may

may have thought it prudent to own the latter, rather than appear to favour a Sentiment which seems to charge his *Masters* with a considerable Usurpation upon the Right of the Subject. But be this as it will, the *Senate* alone has at present the Power to fill up Vacancies, and direct all other Affairs with a *supream* and *absolute* Authority, *independant* of the *People* ; agreeable to This the BURGOMASTERS and SCHEPENS or SHERIFFS of every City, are chosen by its respective *Senate* ; the First are always part of its own Body, and to become Burgomaster, 'tis required to have served the Office of Sheriff. There are twelve *Burgomasters* in *Amsterdam*, Four of whom have the Administration of Affairs, and are from thence called REIGNING or REGENT BURGOMASTERS. Of these Three are changed annually, and the Fourth continues in Function a second Year to instruct the new Comers. HE likewise presides for the first Quarter, and then gives Place to his *Colleagues*, who in the same manner preside three Months alternatively, till the Year is finished ; which Method, though by Experience found ineffectual for the Purpose, was at first very prudently established with a Design to prevent any single Person's acquiring too great an Authority. The REGENT BURGOMASTERS represent the MAJESTY of the GOVERNMENT, and have really all the

Force

Force of it in their Hands. Their *Salary* to appearance is inconsiderable indeed, but they have the *absolute Disposal* of all *Posts* that become vacant during their Administration, as well as of the PUBLICK TREASURE and REVENUE of the *Town*. And to prevent all Contention and Animosity about the Donation of Places, They generally agree that each of them in his Turn, shall dispose absolutely of all those that become vacant during the three Months that He is *President*.

In Them is lodged the Power to admit *Strangers* into the *Freedom* and *Burgeship* of their Towns, and to *banish* those whom they think proper, without any *previous Process*, or assigning any Cause or Reason for so hard a Procedure. Nor can the PROVINCIAL COURT of JUSTICE issue any *Mandate* against such an Act of *Banishment* or *Proscription*; neither does there in Reality lie any *Appeal* even to the STATES Themselves; but when Complaints of this Nature have been brought before them, the *Magistrates* have found themselves obliged in common Decency as well as Justice to assign the Reasons that determined Them to so great a Severity.

However, as this may perhaps appear inconsistent with the *Liberty* and *Maxims* of a REPUBLICK, I shall cite the following Examples

amples from an *Author*, who cannot be suspected of Partiality. (a)

‘ The *MAGISTRATES* of *DORT* having in
 ‘ the Year 1676, forbid certain Persons
 ‘ to enter their City, These addressed
 ‘ the *STATES*, who ordered them, first
 ‘ to obey the *Magistrates*, and then per-
 ‘ mitted them to exhibit their Com-
 ‘ plaints.

‘ Nine Years afterwards, the same *Town*
 ‘ of *Dort*, having banished two Brothers,
 ‘ *MESSIEURS VANDER MYLE*. They de-
 ‘ manded Satisfaction from the *STATES*,
 ‘ who resolved to write to the *Town* of
 ‘ *Dort*, in order to be informed of the
 ‘ Fact, and to know what the *Magistrates*
 ‘ had to offer, before they would proceed
 ‘ to reinstate Them.

‘ In 1618, two *Burgesses* of *Harlem*
 ‘ having been banished, they petitioned
 ‘ the *High Court of Justice*, in order to be
 ‘ re-established in their Country, from
 ‘ whence, they said, they had been un-
 ‘ justly expelled. The *Town* justified her
 ‘ Conduct by a publick Writing, and upon
 ‘ this it was resolved, that those, who for
 ‘ the Future, should upon such Occasions

(a) Monsieur *Basnage* Description Historique, &c. P.61.
 Sect. ix and x.

‘ address themselves to the *Court of Justice*,
‘ should be referred to the STATES of the
‘ PROVINCE, or to their DEPUTIES *ad In-*
‘ *terim*, ’till the STATES should assemble.

Thus far Monsieur *Basnage*. But if the *City Magistrates* are in some Measure obliged to justify Acts of Banishment, there are other Kinds of Punishment, and those too, out of the common Course of ordinary Justice, which they inflict by Virtue of the *Power* derived from their *Legislative Capacity*; without the least Reference to the *States* of the *Province*. Thus, at *Amsterdam*, in 1722, They informed me, the BURGOMASTERS had very lately condemned an ADVOCATE to *perpetual Imprisonment*, for having defended his *Client* with too great a Liberty, in a Cause that affected the *Interest* and *Authority* of the *Government*. Perhaps the candid and impartial Reader, will interpret the Behaviour of that unhappy Pleader, into an *honest Boldness*, rather than too *licentious* a *Freedom*; but supposing the worst, ’tis hard to imagine any *Degree* of *Liberty of Speech*, used at the *Bar*, that could deserve so severe a Treatment, utterly inconsistent with that *Modesty* that ought always to be observed in the *Government* of a *Republick*, as well as the *natural Freedom* of *Mankind*.

The

The Disposition of the *publick Money* is regulated by a Majority of the *Burgomasters Regents*, who are the only Judges of what is for the *Advantage, Safety, or Magnificence* of the *City*. But this is not all; They demand a *previous* Communication of all *Propositions* that are designed for the *Deliberation* of the *Senate*, which They either reject or accept, as they think proper; for these Gentlemen claim a Priviledge of judging of the *Fitness* of all Subjects, of which there is a notable Instance in the Person of WILLIAM the SECOND *Prince of Orange*, upon the Refusal the Town of *Amsterdam* made to admit Him to an *Audience* in full *Senate*.

‘ If any Person, *say They*, has a Proposition
 ‘ of Importance to make, and demands Au-
 ‘ dience of the SENATE, the *Law* directs that
 ‘ He should *address Himself to the Burgo-*
 ‘ *masters, and make them acquainted with his*
 ‘ *Design, that they may judge whether the Audi-*
 ‘ *ence ought to be granted or nor.*

From this previous Communication of Affairs to the Burgomasters, it is in a manner evident that they are virtually Masters of every thing that relates to the *City independantly* of the *Senate*; since they have it in their Power *absolutely to reject whatsoever displeases them*, and will certainly never bring a Point into Debate when They are not sure

to carry the Question, The *Town Councils* of *Holland* are of a very antient Institution. Even in the time of the *Counts* there was a Set of Men in every City, elevated to a certain Degree above their Neighbours, who had an Eye to the *Security* of the *Government*, and regulated the *Taxes* that were levied for the Service of the *Publick*. The Authority of these Councils was very much strengthened by CHARLES V. in his *perpetual Edict* of 1540, where that great EMPEROR ordains that in their Elections no Regard should be had to *Consanguinity*, or other *private Motives*; but that Persons should be chosen eminent either for *Birth* or *Merit*; and that instead of preferring Men that would incur the *Contempt* of the *People* by any Weakness in their Conduct, they should even *depose* such after they were elected. How far these Directions continue to be complied with, and what Influence the Senate, or rather the *Burgomasters* of *Amsterdam*, may be supposed to have upon the Affairs of the *united Provinces*, will probably fall again under our Consideration in the Sequel of this Discourse.

The SCHEPENS or SHERIFFS make the chief Court of Justice in each City. In *Amsterdam* there are nine, of whom seven are elected annually, and two remain a second Year as in the Instance of the *Burgomasters*.

For this *Election* the *Senate* names fourteen Persons, of whom the *Burgomasters* chuse Seven; and as those have the Direction of *Political* Affairs, so the *Sheriffs* have the Administration of Justice, both *Civil* and *Criminal*: But before they condemn a Person to Death, they always ask the Advice of their Burgomasters upon the Merits of the Cause, without being obliged, however, to acquiesce in their Opinion, and they sometimes give Judgment contrary to It: But there lies an Appeal from their Sentence, as well in *criminal* as *civil* Causes, to the *high Court* of the *Province*.

Where the Punishment is *capital*, not only the Proof of the Crime is required to be extremely evident, but the PRISONER Himself must confess it. Indeed, they imploy the WRECK and other Tortures, in order to extort Confession, which human Nature can very hardly bear up against: Yet some there have been who have suffered all the Pains they could inflict with wonderful Constancy. And upon this Occasion, the Reader will not be displeased if I give him a short Story which every Traveller is told in *Holland*, of a notorious Delinquent, named JACQUES or JACQUO; who from the Variety of his Offences, his behaviour upon his Tryal, and his Resolution in bearing every Torture

Torture without owning any Thing, became the Subject of all Conversation. The late CZAR of MUSCOVY was then at *Amsterdam*, and tho' there was little Appearance of Success, yet ambitious perhaps of prevailing by his *Eloquence*, Where the *Wreck* had been ineffectual; he thought fit to visit the *Prisoner*, and promised to intercede for his Pardon, upon condition He would confess to Him. The Story ends thus, that *Jacquo* heard his MAJESTY attentively, and then ask'd him if He could keep a Secret? To which the CZAR having answered, *Yes*; the other replied, *So can I too*, and turned away immediately. The Reader will be apt to wish him his Pardon, but his Crimes were of so heinous a Nature, and so fully proved, that the *Magistrates* dispensed with his Confession, and broke through the ordinary Methods of Justice to execute Him. The Election of *Sheriffs* is managed pretty much in the same manner in all the Cities of *Holland*, except *Rotterdam*, where the Members of the *Senate* draw *Lots* who shall elect Them.

I must not omit to mention another Court of Justice, inferiour to that of the *Schepens*, which seems extreamly well calculated for the Ease and Relief of the Subject. This Board consists of eight or Ten Members, stiled PEACE-MAKERS, who are generally, young Gentlemen of the City, with

one *experienced Magistrate* at the Head of them. They take Cognisance of civil Causes, to the Amount of a certain Sum, which I think, is about Fifty Pounds Sterling. The Method of proceeding is by Way of *Citation*. The *Creditor* Summons his *Debtor* to appear ; and after the Fact has been stated, and both *Sides* heard, the *Peace-makers* determine what ought to be done, and order the Parties to comply with It ; but there lies an Appeal from their Decision to the *Schepens*.

After the *Burgomasters*, the Office of greatest Weight, and Authority in the Cities, is that of *SCHOUT*, or *BAILIFF*. This Person is entrusted with the Government of the several *HOSPITALS*: the *ORPHANS*, *LUNATICKS*, and other *Poor*, are committed to his Care ; and He alone appoints the *Managers*, and *Inspectors* of these poor People. It is his Business to prevent all disorders in the Town : He only receives *Informations*, takes cognisance of all *Crimes*, seizes and commits the *Offenders* to *Prison*, prosecutes Them before the *Sheriffs*, and is charged with the Execution of the *Sentence*. He has likewise the Right of appealing from the Decision of the *Sheriffs*, to the *Provincial high Court*, when ever he thinks their Sentence too favourable to the *Prisoner*. He is, if I may be allowed
the

the Expression, the First Minister of the Law; and it is of the utmost Importance to the Subject, That this Office should be executed by a Person of Worth and Integrity: for as the Schouts are the only Officers whose immediate Duty it is to prosecute Offences of every Kind committed against the civil Magistrate, so it is notorious that they often exercise a Privilege of commuting with Offenders, even when the Crimes are of the blackest Dye; and for Money, the Prosecution shall be dropped, or if the Affair has taken Wind, the Indictment shall be laid in such Terms as leave the Party Room to evade it: and by such Practices, this Office is amongst the most lucrative in the Country. It is impossible this should escape the Notice of the Senators, but as they may all expect to be Schout in their Turns, they are contented to act the Part of silent Observers, and wink at Practices which must one Day fill their own Coffers I must not omit one Regulation, which at the same Time that it is highly advantageous to this Officer, contributes very much to preserve the publick Peace. This is an Order of the Senate, which I think prevails in every Town and Village of Holland, that no Chyrurgeon shall dress a Wound, without giving immediate Notice of it to the Schout; who is by this means, made acquainted with every Broil or Quarrel; and as all Breaches of

the Peace, such as Duelling, Scouring the Watch, beating up a licenced Bordel, breaking Windows, &c. are all punishable in the same manner as Pilfering, by branding or whipping upon a publick Scaffold, if the Schout protecutes with Rigour, People are very cautious how they offend, and bring themselves under a Necessity of compounding.

Every Town has several *subaltern Officers*, of whom the Principal are the *PENSIONARY*, and the *RECEIVER GENERAL*. The *Pensionary* is always a *Lawyer*, and ought to be perfectly acquainted with the *Ordinances* and *Customs* of his City, of which He is the *Mouth* on all publick Occasions. It is his Business to defend the Right of his Town against the *Pretensions* of her *Neighbours*, and He may be very properly stil'd the *first Minister* of the *Senate*. The *Receiver general* disburses according to Order from the *Regent Burgomasters*.





S E C T. II.

O F T H E

P R O V I N C I A L G O V E R N M E N T.



WE have already said, that each of the seven Provinces is absolute Mistress of Herself, retaining a *distinct* and *separate* SOVEREIGNTY independant of the other Members of the

UNION. The *Supream Authority* is lodged in the *united Body* of the DEPUTIES of the NOBILITY and the TOWNS; who are accordingly invested with the Power of en-acting *Laws*; of making *War* and *Peace*, as far as regards their own *Province*; coin-ing *Money*; levying *Taxes*; raising *Soldiers*; creating and conferring *Offices*; and all the other Branches of *absolute* and *sovereign Power*.
Each

Each *Province* directs the *exterior Government* of the CHURCH; regulates the Modes of publick Worship; and keeps a watchful Eye over the Conduct of Her *Synods* and *Clergy*; whose Maintainance She provides for, as well as for the *Building*, and *Repairs* of the *Churches*.



O F T H E P R O V I N C E O F G E L D E R L A N D,



THE ancient SICAMBRI (a) who inhabited *Zutphen* and the rest of the Country now called GELDERLAND, situated between the MAEZE and the RHINE, were the last that submitted to the Government of the ROMANS, and the first to shake off their Yoke, upon the Declension of the EMPIRE. *Gelderland* was erected into an *Earldom*, in

(a) *Ovid* speaks thus of the *Sicambri*.

*Nec Tibi deletos, poterit narrare Sicambros
Ensis & jueros rege dedisse suis.*

1079, by the EMPEROR HENRY the 3d, in Favour of OTHO COUNT of NASSAU; under which Title his Posterity continued to govern It, 'till the Year 1339, when It was made a DUTCHY, by the EMPEROR LEWIS of BAVARIA, in Favour of RENALD of NASSAU, surnamed the *Red*. It would be the Business of a *general Historian* to take notice of the several Revolutions that may have happened, and the Acquisitions that have been made from Time to Time by the several Princes who have been at the Head of this PROVINCE.

GELDERLAND, such as it is at present, is composed of three Quarters; *Nimeghen*, *Zutphen*, and *Arnheim* of the *Velaw*. The Fourth, called the *high Quarter*, containing the Towns of *Gelder*, *Venlo*, and *Ruremonde*, remained subject to the KING of SPAIN by the Treaty of MUNSTER, and after several Revolutions, VENLO, with the greatest Part of the Country was lately given up to the STATES GENERAL, at the same Time that GELDER was yielded to the KING of PRUSSIA, and RUREMOND with all its Dependancies, reserved to the EMPEROR.* The first Quarter contains the Towns of *Nimeghen*,

* See the 18th Article of the Barrier Treaty, concluded at *Antwerp*, in 1715.

Tiel and Bommel; in the second are those of *Zutphen, Doesberg, Doetechem, Zochem, Groll, &c.* and the Third has *Arnheim, Harderwike, Wageningen, Hattem, and Elbourgh*, all which have their distinct Forms of Government and particular Priviledges.

Each Quarter has her own Assembly, which consists of three Representatives of the *Nobility*, and three for each *Town*; whilst the Provincial States are composed of two Deputies from each Quarter; One for the Towns, and the other on the Part of the Nobility; between whom the Sovereignty of the Province is equally divided. The COURT OF JUSTICE established in the Town of ARNHEIM, convenes the provincial Assembly, and has a Power resembling that of the STATES DEPUTIES in other Provinces. The three principal Towns, *Nimeghen, Zutphen, and Arnheim*, convene the *States* of their own Districts, and preside in their respective Assemblies. NIMEGHEN is a very antient Town, and a *Fief* of the *Empire*, to whom she does Homage, and pays certain Acknowledgments. (a)

(a) Ne percio, ha altra, Suggettione con l'Imperio se non una picciola Riconoscenza e Cirimonia di Tributo, e questo che ogni anno manda per huomo espresso all Aquis grana un guanto pieno di pepe. Guicciard Descrizione P. 157.

MONSIEUR LE CLERC tells us the BUR-GRAVE of NIMEGHEEN is born *President* of the *States* of *Gelderland*, which is contradicted by others who say he is elected, and 'tis possible the People may be amused with something like an Election, at most *pro Forma*, like that which we see practiced at the *Coronation* of some *Sovereign Princes* in *Europe*, where the PEOPLE are asked if they will have such a Person for their KING. The Town of *Zutphen*, singly has an equal Right of making OFFICERS, and giving PLACES, with all the little Towns of her District together. The *Magistracy* is for Life in this Province ; and the *Nobility* have the Priviledge of bearing Offices.



OF THE *Province* of HOLLAND.



AMERTUS in his Panegyrick to MAXIMIAN has given us a Description of HOLLAND that answers extreamly well to the present Condition of a great Part of that
Pro-

Province. (a) Your divine^d Expeditions ,
says He to that Emperor, ‘ have extended
 ‘ to a Country so extreamly *moist* and *watry*,
 ‘ that it can hardly be called *Land*. Both
 ‘ *Men* and *Beasts* leave the *Traces* of their
 ‘ *Footsteps* behind them ; and run the
 ‘ *Hazard* of *sinking* as they walk. Those Parts
 ‘ of the Country which seem *dry* and *firm*,
 ‘ quake and tremble under your Feet ; One
 ‘ would think the *Earth* felt the *Weight* of
 ‘ the *Man* she carries, and bent beneath the
 ‘ *Burthen* ’Tis a floating *Mass*, which being
 ‘ suspended is never settled. The *SEA* washes
 ‘ its *Shores* ; and the *WAAL* and *RHINE* en-
 ‘ fold and water it with *Variety* of *Wind-*
 ‘ *ings* and *Separations*. Thus, *CÆSAR*, your
 ‘ *Troops* were forced to make a *Kind* of *Sea-*
 ‘ *Fight* upon *Land*; and combat with the
 ‘ *Water* as well as the *Enemy*.

WE have already said that *HOLLAND* was originally governed by *EARLS*; but who was the first of These, and how the Succession was continued, or whether there was a regular Succession or not, is extreamly *difficult to determine*. Most *Historians* agree that *CHARLES* the *BALD*, gave the *EARLDOM* to *THIERI*, whom He brought at the Head of

a numerous Army, in order to install him in It; and 'tis added that the same Person was made FORESTER of WASDA in ZEALAND by LEWIS the GERMAN. (a) But *Monsieur B* * * contests both these Opinions, and tells Us that 'twas not the Custom in the Time of *Charlemagne* or his Grandson *Charles the bald*, absolutely to give away the *Sovereignty* of Provinces to those whom They established in the Government of them. These *Princes* sent their *Counts* to do Justice to the People, by putting the Laws in Execution; and to defend Them from the Invasions of their Enemies; and tho' they might sometimes continue the Son of a deceased Governor in his Fathers Employments, yet He was by no means *Proprietor* of the Country.

It is not consistent with the Shortness of this Tract, nor is it indeed worth much Pains to determine who was the first *Sovereign* Earl of *Holland*. Whoever He was, his Power was extreamly limited, and we are told He could not assume the Government without the *Consent* of the *Nobility* and *People*, whose Oath of

(a) WASDA, certain Lands so called from being frequently covered with Mud and Slime thrown upon Them by Inondations. VASE, is an old French Word which in certain Provinces of France is still understood to signify Mud or Slime.

Allegiance was *relative* to that which the *Count* took for the Preservation of their *Priviledges*. It is not long since They shewed a little Hill near *Hemskirk*, upon which the old CANEMARIANS used to mount the *Earl of Holland* on the Day of his *Inauguration*, and receive his *Oath of Government* ; which being repeated in all the considerable Towns of the Province, They then sent Him such a Tax, as they had thought fit to impose upon Themselves, which we may be sure was moderate enough ; nor did They think Themselves obliged to pay any Thing when their Earl did not reside amongst Them. And thus the Historians of that Time take notice that EARL WILLIAM who was elected KING of the ROMANS, and had a considerable Share in the Intrigues and Politicks of that Age, was obliged to come into *Holland* from time to time, in order to receive his Revenue, which some Cities refused to pay in his Absence. They tell us of three Circumstances only, which authorized the *Counts* to demand extraordinary Supplies of the People. The *first* was the MARRIAGE either of their *Children, their Brothers, or Sisters* ; the *second* when any near Relation was made a KNIGHT, a Ceremony in those Days performed with a great deal of Magnificence ; and lastly when They were cited to attend the EMPEROR, whose Vassals They were, either
in

in his Wars, or upon any other Occasion. In such Cases not being able from their own Fund to support the necessary Expence, They were obliged to have Recourse to the Subject, whose natural Fierceness of Temper and Hatred of Servitude being cherished and improved by so great a Liberty, the *Government* was upon every Occasion disturbed with Complaints and popular Commotions.

But when the *Province* of *Holland* became subject to the DUKES of BURGUNDY, Those *Princes*, who could not be present in every Part of their Dominions, nor govern Them according to their distinct Priviledges, were obliged to change the antient Form of Government, and create two new *Offices* in *Holland*, one of which was that of CITY COUNT, which answers to the modern Schout or Town-Bailiff; and the other that of the provincial STADTHOLDER, or VICE COUNT, who took care of all Affairs relating to the *Sovereignty*; regulated the *Taxes*, and convened the *Provincial States* when new ones were to be imposed.

The *Provincial Assembly* was not instituted however till the Beginning of the fourteenth *Century*; and then the Right of convening It was entirely lodged in the *Stadtholder*, who called the *Nobility* and the *Deputies* of the principal Towns together, and addressed himself to them

them in the Name of his Master. But 'twas not long before the *States* assumed the Priviledge of assembling without the Interposition of the *Governor*, whenever they had a mind to debate upon any Point of Importance. We find WILLIAM I. PRINCE of ORANGE contesting this with Them in Right of his Master *Philip 2d.* THE PRINCE affirmed that the *States* could not assemble without his Order, as *Stadtholder* of the *King of Spain*; to which they answered, that when new Taxes were to be imposed, the *Stadtholder* had indeed a Right to convene Them; but that upon all other Affairs, when either former *Laws* were to be revised, the *publick Accounts inspected*, or when any particular Interest of the *Province* required It, They had a Right to assemble upon the Citation of the *Receiver*, or *Advocate General* of the *Province*, which last Charge answers to the modern post of *Grand Pensionary*. The Dispute was brought before the DUTCHESS of PARMA, then GOVERNESS of the NETHERLANDS, who determined in Favour of the *Province*, in hopes without doubt to have softened the present ill Temper of the People; but the *Prince* obtained an Order from the same Hand, forbidding the *States* to assemble without his Permission; of which the Town of *Dort* immediately complained, and the Dispute was not terminated, when the ensuing Troubles destroyed

destroyed the antient Form of Government, and introduced a new One, the Description of which, we are now entering upon.

The STATES of HOLLAND, consist of the NOBILITY. and the *Representatives* of those Towns which have a Right to depute to the *Provincial Assembly*. It depends on the Nobles to fill up the Vacancies that happen in their own Body, and to augment their Number as They please; but to capacitate a Person for that Election, he must be possessed of a LORDSHIP; or a FIEFE NOBLE in the Province. They have the *first Rank* amongst the States, and the *first Vote* of Nineteen, which determine the Resolutions of that Assembly. They are understood to give their Votes *proprio Jure*; and 'tis to preserve that Distinction, that the States insert this Clause in their Resolutions, (*The LORDS, CHEVALIERS ; The DEPUTIES of the TOWNS, in the Name, and on the Part of the BURGOMASTERS and REGENTS of the said TOWNS consent, &c.*) But notwithstanding this, the whole Body of the Nobility have but one Voice, which is pronounced by the GRAND PENSIONARY, as *Pensionary* of their Order. They

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possess

possess CHURCH and ABBEY LANDS to a great Value; One of their Body is always a Deputy to the *States General*; They have a *Second* in the *Council of State*; a *Third* in the *Council of States Deputies*, where he is always *President*; Two more are *Commissioners* of the *Admiralties* of *Amsterdam* and *Rotterdam*; Two are Members of the *high Court of Justice*; and for 30 Years past, They have had *Two* more in the *Direction* of the *East India Company*; all which Employments are for Life.

Whilst the *Province of Holland* remained under the Government of her *Earls*, even down to the Time of PHILIP the 2d, The Towns which had a Right to depute to the provincial Assembly, were only Six: *Dort*, *Harlem*, *Delft*, *Leyden*, *Amsterdam*, and, *Tergow*; but in 1579, when the *Union of Utrecht* was formed, *William Prince of Orange*, either for encouraging the Country the better to resist *Spain*, or to establish his own Authority, invited the *small Towns* to send their *Deputies* to the *Provincial Assembly*, where all those who came were admitted, and still retain that Priviledge. These were, *Roterdam*, *Gornickem*, *Schedam*, *Schoonhoven*, and the *Brill*, in SOUTH HOLLAND: *Horn*, *Enchuysen*, and *Medenblick*, situated according to the old Division of the

the Country, in WEST FRIESLAND: And *Alkmaer*, *Edam*, *Monikendam*, and *Purmurent*, in NORTH HOLLAND. The Distinction of great and small Towns, is so far kept up, however, that in *South Holland*, only the *seven First* have a Right to depute to the *Assembly of the States General*; *Gornichem*, which is the Eighth, deputing only to the *Council of State*; as *Horn* and *Enchuyzen* in *West Friezland*, and *Alkmaer* in *North Holland*, are the only Towns in their respective Districts, which send their Members to both those Assemblies. Each City sends what Number of Deputies she pleases to the Provincial Assembly, because they have jointly but one Voice; and the little Town of *Skedam* or *Purmurent* has as plenary a Right as the most powerful, and opulent.

The Persons deputed by the Cities to represent Them in the Provincial Assembly must be always taken out of their respective *Senates*; there is constantly a *Burgomaster* at the Head of the Deputation; with the *Pensionary* and a *Secretary* of the Town, who are those, that in Conjunction with the *Nobility*, represent the *Sovereignty* of the *Province*.

In 1580 the *States* made a Resolution to admit no Person into their Assembly, *who was not deputed by the Magistrates, or the Town Councils*; which, in my Opinion implies a Doubt that some other Power, *It may be the United Body of the Citizens*, had a Right to depute; and this seems to justify the Opinion of Sir *William Temple*, that the Right of *Elections, Deputations, &c.* was originally lodged in the *People*. (a)

No Person can be a Member of this Assembly, unless he is born in *Holland, Zealand, or the Province of Utrecht*. All others are deemed *Aliens*, and, as such, excluded the *Regency*. Even Acts of *Naturalization* do not capacitate a Person to enjoy the Dignity of the Province; and because Those who have been in this Manner adopted Subjects of the *Republic*, have thought Themselves justly entituled to a Share in the Honours and Dignities of It, and have often disputed their Pretentions with a great deal of Vigour, the *States* came to a Resolution, to insert in all Acts of Naturalization, That They

(a) See pag. 27.

are given *ad Honores*. This Exclusion is grounded on the Practice of the *old Romans*, who frequently naturalized whole Cities, as well as particular Persons, but would not suffer Them to have any Share in the *Government* of the *Republick*. The Children of Persons so adopted, had an equal Right, however, amongst the *Romans*, with any other Member of the Commonwealth; and therefore the *municipal Laws* of some particular Cities in *Holland*, which exlude the Descendants of Strangers for several Generations, from being Members of the *Senate*, seem to Me unequitable, and as inconsistent with the *primitive* and *fundamental Maxims* of the *Republick*, as they are cunningly contrived to *perpetuate* the Dignities and Authority of the City, in the same Families; than which, nothing can be a greater Breach on the *Liberties*, and *natural Property* of the *Subject*.

The STATES of HOLLAND enjoy an entire *Liberty of Speech*, and are only responsible for their Actions to the Town which deputes Them, without being liable to be called in Question by any Authority, or cited to appear before any *Tribunal* during the Time of their *Session*, on any Cause or Pretext whatsoever. They assemble, according to ancient Custom, four Times a Year

to fill up the vacant Offices that depend on Them, renew Grants, and consent to the Continuation of old Taxes, and the Imposition of others, for raising such Supplies as may have been granted by their *Deputies* in the *States General*, for the Service of the subsequent Year, and the Preservation of the *Union*. But upon extraordinary Occasions, They meet as often as their *Deputies* in the *Council of State* think fit to convene them.

Each Member, at his first Appearance in the Assembly, is obliged to take an *Oath to maintain the Rights, Priviledges, Immunities; Laws, and Customs of the Country*; to give his Vote according to his *Conscience*, for the common Happiness and Prosperity of the Province and the States, without *Hatred, or Affection for the Interest of any Town or Person in particular*; to execute all *Resolutions, Orders, and Commissions*, with *Fidelity*; and to keep inviolably, all Secrets that shall be enjoined him.

When Posts become vacant, that are in the Gift of the *States of Holland*, the several Towns of the Province, are particularly informed of It, that they may have Time to make an advantageous Choice, for the Good of the Publick, of those that shall succeed; and when the Thing comes to be debated,

bated, if any *Member* of the *Assembly* be a *Candidate*, He is obliged to withdraw, that the Debate may be managed with greater Freedom ; and those who are elected must swear They have neither given nor promised any thing to obtain their Employments.

The GRAND PENSIONARY of HOLLAND is the Person who proposes the Subjects of Debate in this Assembly, collects the *Suffrages* of the *nineteen Representatives*, pronounces the Resolution, and dictates the Terms in which it shall be enregistred. This *Officer* is properly the *Minister*, and *Servant* of the *Province*, and as such takes Place *below* the other Deputies, tho' his Credit and Authority is much superior to that of any other Member of the *State*, unless we except the TREASURER GENERAL with Regard to *Domestic Affairs*. He is indeed obliged to resign his Commission every five Years, and there are perhaps in the History of the *Republick*, two or three Instances, when the Demission of the Pensionary has been accepted of : But this happens so rarely, that we may venture to say He is perpetual ; and from thence arises in a great measure the Importance of this Minister, as well as from the Functions of his Office. The Pensionary has his Seat in all the Courts of the *Province*, and ought always to be a Person perfectly acquainted with her *Interests*, Master of her

Laws, and capable to *illustrate*, and *explain* upon the several Propositions He makes to the *States* : whence it will happen that the Turn He gives to Affairs in *stating the Question*, shall often determine the Debate agreeable to his Sentiments. What still gives this *Minister* greater Weight, is a Priviledge of making a *Remonstrance* to the Assembly even after the Debate is ended, and of refusing to conclude according to the *Plurality of Voices*, when He judges the Resolution may be prejudicial to the *Republick*. As this Post confers great Honour and Authority, so it is not without Danger ; especially, when there is a *STADT-HOLDER* in the Country, and He happens to quarrel with the *States*, or some of their Members ; of which *OLDEN BARNEVELT*, and *MONS. DE WIT* have been terrible Examples. The keeping of the *publick Registers*, and the *great Seal* of the *Province*, is entrusted to this Minister : for which He has a particular Commission. He is always a *Member* in the Assembly of the *States general*, as a *Deputy of Holland*. *GROTIUS*, defines Him to be *Vox publicæ Libertatis ; præit suadendo, componit Dissidentes*.

Of the Council of STATE.

AFTER the STATES of HOLLAND, the Court of greatest Authority is the PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF STATE ; which consists of one Representative of the *Nobility*, One for each of the eight great Cities of *South-Holland*, and Another for the three inferior Towns of *Schedam*, *Schoonhoven*, and the *Brill*, whom They chuse *alternatively*, and change every two Years. The *Deputy* of the *Nobles* has a Commission constituting Him such for three Years, but He is usually continued for Life, whilst Those of the Towns are generally changed at the End of that Term. The *grand Pensionary*, and the *Secretary* of the *provincial States* of *Holland*, have their Seats in this Council ; the *Pensionary* has a Right to debate ; proposes the Question, and forms the Conclusion as in the Assembly of the States ; and the *Secretary* draws up and registers the Resolutions. The Functions of this Council are highly considerably. She *convenes* the *States* of *Holland*, and prepares Business for them ; executes all the Resolutions of that Assembly ; superintends the Administration of the *Finances*, and hears Causes that arise from Disputes between the FARMERS of the publick Taxes,

Taxes, and Those that either refuse the Payment of Them, or endeavour in a fraudulent manner to evade It. Upon these Occasions, and especially in Cases of *Fraud*, the Demand of the *Farmer* is *ad Libitum*, and generally most exorbitant; proportioned rather to the *Circumstances* of the *Offender* than the Consequence of the *Offence*; and the *Council* is under a Kind of Necessity of being favourable to the *Plaintiff*, that *He may have no Pretence for delaying his Payments to the Receiver General of the Revenue*. From hence arises a greater Facility in collecting the *Inland Duties* of *Holland* than can well be imagined; for as no prudent Person will run Himself into the Possibility of paying a *thousand Pounds*, or a much larger Sum, to save (we will suppose) the Duty of a *Barrel of Soap*; so every Man is careful to have a *Book of Rates* in his Family; to calculate exactly what is the *Farmer's Due*, and send it him with the same Care and Expedition, which is afterwards observed in getting the Goods for which They have paid the *Duty*, into their own Warehouses. The *Council of State* takes Cognizance of all *fortified Towns and Garrisons* that depend on the *Province of Holland*; orders *Reviews* of the *Army*, and punishes *Mutinies* and other Crimes committed by the *Soldiery*. She nominates the *Town Majors* of fortified Places, and disposes of

of all subaltern Commissions below the Rank of *Captain*. Her Members have a Right to sit with the *States General*, and upon Debates of Importance, the whole Board is there, but in the usual Course of Business, only Two of them are present, who are succeeded monthly by Two of their *Colleagues*. These Gentlemen at their Admission into the Council, are obliged to swear, that they have neither *given nor promised any Thing, for their Employments*, and that they will give their Opinions according to their *Consciences*, for the *publick Good*, preferably to the Interest of any particular Town, *even of that which deutes Them*.

THERE is a Court of the same Nature in *North Holland*, consisting of Deputies from all the Towns in that Quarter, who are changed every two Years; and *these two Councils* meet annually in the Month of *November*, to settle in Conjunction with the *Deputies* of the *States General*, what the *Dutch* stile, *l'Etat de la Guerre*, or, *the necessary Funds to be levied in the subsequent Tear for the Service of the Army*. The Secretary of the *North-Holland Council* is always a *Commissioner* of the *Revenue*.

There are in *Holland* two principal *Chambers of Accompts*, of which the First is for the ancient *Revenue* of the COUNTS of HOLLAND, that devolved on the States when They
threw

threw off their *Allegiance* to the *Spaniard*, composed of four *Ministers*, a *Sollicitor*, two *Auditors*, and a *Secretary*. Offices, that have always afforded an honourable and lucrative Retreat, to those who were grown old in the more laborious Employments of the State, and had behaved themselves with Prudence and Integrity. But as the *States* have now begun to sell the *old Demesns* of the COUNTS, this Chamber becoming useless, will in all probability be laid aside. The STADTHOLDERS have always elected the Members of this Board, from a double Nomination of the *States*. The other Chamber audits the Accompts of the ordinary *Revenue*, and the extraordinary *Taxes* that are imposed in Time of *War*. There is a third Chamber of Accompts, in *North Holland*, composed of Deputies from all the Towns of that Quarter.

For the Administration of *Justice*, there are two Courts held at the HAGUE, called, the COURT OF HOLLAND, and the HIGH COUNCIL. The Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* have been always so strictly united, as to have but one common high Court of Justice, and accordingly, That of *Holland* is composed of a *President*, with eight *Counsellors* of the *Province*, and three for *Zealand*, a *Sollicitor*, two *Attorneys*, a *Register*, and six *Secretaries*;

Secretaries: and by a particular Agreement, *Holland* chuses the *President* two Years, and *Zealand* the Third.

But notwithstanding the strict Union that has subsisted between these *Provinces*, They have frequently had Disputes concerning the *Jurisdiction* of this Court, of a very high and delicate Nature. In 1656, *Holland* insisted, That as the *Courts of Justice* had their Residence in that *Province*, She ought, consequently, to retain a supream Authority over Them, with a Power either to *extend* or *restrain* their *Jurisdiction*, and *interdict* them the Cognisance of Affairs in which the *Interest of the Sovereign* might be concerned. But this was very warmly contested by *Zealand*; and at last It was agreed, that tho' the *Province of Holland* was, indeed, invested with the *Sovereign Power*, yet She should not be at Liberty to make any Alteration in the Methods of administering *Justice* already settled between the two *Provinces*, because they had both mutually obliged themselves to the observance of them. (a) This was not so well reconciled, however as to prevent future Disputes: And in 1674, (b) the *States of Holland* came to

(a) Resolutions of the *Province of Holland*. Aug. 11. 1655. and June 15, 1661. (b) Third Book of *Placarts*.

a Resolution to reserve to Themselves the Decision of all *Political Affairs*, as *properly appertaining to the Duty of the Sovereign*, in the same manner that the Administration of *Justice* fell naturally within the *Authority and Jurisdiction* of the *Courts*. And this Resolution They have maintained, notwithstanding the several Remonstrances that have been made, both from the *Courts*, and the *Province of Zealand* against It.

The Members of this Council are excluded from being *Magistrates of Cities*, *Directors* of the *Trading Companies*, or enjoying any *Post*, or other *Salary*, than that which is annexed to their Office; that They may be left free and unbiassed, for the impartial Administration of *Justice*. The *Nobles of Holland* are subject to the Jurisdiction of this Court, before whom they plead in the first Instance. The *City Schouts* or *Bailiffs* are likewise liable to be cited hither, and upon a Complaint They are sued by the *Solicitor*; but he has no Share in the Fines set on Them, as They have in Those that are imposed on Delinquents, convicted in their Respective Cities.

Appeals lie to this Court, from the Sentences of the *Sheriffs*, in the several Towns, of both Provinces, and the Judges in the last

last Resort of all *criminal Cases*, and of *civil Causes* to a certain Sum, after which, there lies an Appeal to the *High Council*

The HIGH COUNCIL of *Holland* and *Zealand* was first Instituted in 1582, instead of the GRAND COUNCIL of *Malines*; whither all Appeals had been carried in the last Resort of Justice, before the Separation of the *Seven Provinces* from the *Spanish Monarchy*. But that Revolution being once effected; it was no longer practicable for the Subjects of the *States General* to have Recourse to a City in the Domination of *Philip II*, and this necessitated the *Prince of Orange*, to establish the *Tribunal* we are now speaking of, to which he hoped the People of the *United Netherlands* would all appeal, as they had done before to that *Malines*: But in This, his *Highness* was mistaken. The *Provinces of Holland* and *Zealand*, however, concurred in the Design; and accordingly the Court is composed of a *President* with six *Counsellors* for *Holland*, and three for *Zealand*, a *Register*, and a *Substitute*, who are invested with a very high and extensive *Jurisdiction*. They judge peremptorily, and definitively of all Cases brought before Them, by an Appeal from the *Court of Holland*, and give Judgement,
from

from which there is no farther *Appeal*, except by way of *Revision*, or *Remonstrance of Error*; for which the *States of Holland* name five Commissioners, who are added to the former Judges: But this Revision is made upon the same Proofs and Circumstances that were before exhibited, without permitting either Party to make fresh Allegations.

I must not finish my Account of this *Province*, without remarking the *Lenity of the Law* towards *Debtors*. Never was there such large Credit given to all sorts of Persons as in *Holland*, and never any Country where so few languish in *Prison*. In 1721, those confined for Debt in AMSTERDAM were not more than *five and Twenty*. A trifling Number for a City which has, at least, as many *trading People* as *London*. The same Lenity is observed all over the Province, from whence, it is generally, tho' falsely understood, that the *Dutch* are naturally merciful, whereas they are, in reality severe and rigid; but their *Laws*, in this Respect, are gentle indeed; and it may be, owe their Being to that cruel Disposition of the People, to which they are in themselves so opposite. For before it was enacted, That the Creditor should support his Prisoner with a certain Allowance, to be settled according

according to the Pleasure of the Magistrate, the Prisons were crowded with miserable Men as They are in England; of which the STATE could not but take notice at last, and from thence fell upon means to prevent the Loss of so great a Number of Subjects to the Public, by an unuseful Detention. And as those who owe but little, are secured from the Persecution of their Creditors, by the Necessity of maintaining Them in Prison. So those whose Debts are large, have an effectual method to avoid perpetual Imprisonment, by conforming to the Laws relating to Bankrupts. When any Person acquaints the Magistrates with his Insolvency, and lays before Them an exact Account of his Circumstances, They immediately order the Commissioners of Bankrupts to possess themselves of his Estate, and exempt his Person from all Arrests for six Weeks; which Time is allowed him to compound with his Creditors. But if his Endeavours prove ineffectual, which seldom happens when his Failure appears to be fairly owing to Losses and Misfortunes, the Commissioners at the End of that Term sell his Estate, and make a Dividend at an Average to the Concerned; after which the Magistrates acquit and exempt him from all Claims, whether foreign or domestic: Nor is it in the Power of any, or all of his Creditors, to hinder this when the Failure is not fraudulent.

Another Method of obtaining absolute Freedom in *Holland*, still more expeditious than the Former, is for the *Debtor* to apply to the *provincial high Court of Justice*, represent his Condition, and give up all he has upon *Oath*; after which he is exempted as before from all future Claims; and is again free to undertake what ever Commerce He pleases; But if the *Bankruptcy* be fraudulent, and the *Debtor* takes a false *Oath*, the *Magistrates* are authorised to punish Him *ad Libitum*, even with *Death* Itself, if They think fit.

I will not take upon me, either to blame or approve this Facility with which the Party declares Himself a *Bankrupt* and obtains his Discharge. Certain it is, that fraudulent *Bankruptcies* are frequent enough in *Holland* as well as other Countries; and that we hear very seldom of any Person's suffering *capitally* on that Account. But for the *Law* which directs the Creditor to *maintain his Debtor in Prison*, the good Effects of It are visible upon the whole *Community*. I remember when the *Bill* for preventing *frivolous Arrests*, &c. depended in *Parliament*, one Argument brought against it was, that it would destroy the *Credit* given to the inferior People. But if we may conclude from Experience, This will certainly be found without Foundation; for as I have observed above, there is no where so much *Credit*.

dit given to all Degrees of Persons as in *Holland*, tho' there be no such Thing as a personal Arrest, *before the Party has been summoned three Times*; unless Oath can be made that He is about *to fly the Country*, This Effect the Law has indeed, that every Man is obliged to take care of his Character. A *dissolute* Person would not have any Credit in *Holland*; and therefore all are under a Necessity of establishing a certain Degree of Reputation proportioned to their several Conditions; or for Want of this to *preserve at least a Weeks Wages before hand*, without which it would be impossible to subsist.

If the *Method* of treating *Bankrupts* in *Holland* be not perfect, ours in *England* is I think much less so. In *Holland* the Expence of going thro' an Act of *Bankruptcy*, even before the *high Court* at the *Hague*, is not above *twenty Pound Sterling*; with *Us* It is *four score or a Hundred*. In *Holland* the *Magistrates* are Judges of the *Truth or Deceit of the Debtor*, and use Him accordingly; with *Us*, tho' the *Commissioners* are of Opinion that the *Certificate* ought to be allowed, the *Creditors* have it in their Power to hinder it; and this puts many upon Practices to make what they call *two Thirds in Number and Value*, that are extremely fraudulent and iniquitous. In *Holland* the Degree of Punishment in Cases of *Fraud*,

is left to the Magistrate ; in *England* the *Law* admits no *Medium*, but pronounces either *Death* or an *Acquittal* ; which must naturally make a *Bankrupt* doubly cautious in his Methods of *Secreting* his Effects, and very often hinders his being detected, through a certain *Tenderness* which the Generality of Persons have for *another's Life*, who would perhaps appear against Him were the Punishment any Thing less than *Capital*.

With Regard to *personal Arrests*, our *Law* has indeed been lately softened ; but surely there remains a further Reformation to be wish'd for. Not only in *Holland*, but in *France*, *Flanders*, *Italy*, the free Towns of *Germany*, and I believe I may add every other Country except *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, the *Debtor* is either *maintained* in Prison by his *Creditor*, or discharged upon giving up his all. In *Holland* the *Law* is inexorable towards *Criminals*, but indulgent to *Debtors* ; we on the contrary are favourable to *Delinquents* of every Kind, and cruel even to Oppression where we have any Demand. This has long been a great and just Reproach to Us amongst our Neighbours. It may be said without Partiality that *England* is a very generous Nation ; It is remarked by *Foreigners* that even our very *Mobs* are equitable in their Proceedings. FAIR PLAY is a Phrase unknown to the Rest of *Europe* ; yet in
Countries

Countries where no Man foregoes the Advantage he has over his *Enemy*; and where *Forgiveness* is a Stranger, there is still far less *Inhumanity* practised towards *Debtors* than in *England*; who tho' *unfortunate*, and *bad*, indeed, in the *Dialect of Exchange Alley*; yet are not always the *worst Men* in the Nation; The Reason of our Behaviour in this Point is obvious enough. Every *Creditor* in *England* has the Authority of an *Absolute Prince*, over his poor Servant the *Debtor*, and there are very few fit to govern. PHISICK is necessary to repell too great a Redundancy of *Humours* in the *Body*, and the *human Passions* will be restrained by nothing but *wholesome Laws* inforced by Power. The LEGISLATIVE BODY has thought fit to make one Step towards a Cure of this national Disease, worthy the *Representatives* of a great, free and generous *People*; and I doubt not, but the Time is near when we shall still act more in Character.





O F T H E

P R O V I N C E O F Z E A L A N D.



ZEALAND, which now consists of so many *Islands*, is supposed, by several Writers, to have been one intire *Continent*. But this Opinion seems improbable, because it is not easy to Imagine, that the *SCHELD*, which makes so Noble a Port at *ANTWERP*, has ever had any other Course than that which it now holds, through these *Islands*, to the Sea. But be this as it will, we are sure its Situation has for a long Time been very much the same that It is at present ; because when the *NORMANS* invaded *Holland*, by the several Branches of the *Rhine*, which run into the *North Sea*, They possessed Themselves of the *Isle of Walcheren*, which is now the largest of *Zealand*, and was at that Time separated from the Rest.

What

What was the true Name of the old Inhabitants of this Country is another Subject of Dispute amongst the *Critics*. LEMNIUS maintains Them to be the same with the old MATTIACI (a) whom TACITUS makes near Neighbours to the *Batavi*, resembling them very much in manners and Inclinations, except that the *Mattiaci* were more robust and less civilis'd. (b) And in Reality, as the Roman Historian places these People in the Neighbourhood of the *Batavi*, a little nearer the Sea, one would be apt to believe He had the *Zealanders* in his View; were it not that PLINY speaking of the same People, places Them beyond the *Rhine*, in a Situation that cannot possibly answer to that of *Zealand*. (c) And Tacitus Himself tells us, that CURTIUS RUFUS discovered certain Silver Mines in the Country of the *Mattiaci*, upon which He employed the *Roman Legions*, tho' to little Purpose: But 'tis certain there never were any such in *Zealand*, nor would *Curtius* have lost the least Time in searching for *Silver Mines* in so marshy a Country.

It is not probable that Strangers would come very far to inhabit so bad a Soil, but the People

(a) *Lavinius Lemnius De Zelandia*. p. 147.

(b) *Mattiaci Terræ suæ Solo acrius animantur*. Tacit.

(c) *Lib. 30*.

of *Holland* who advanced from one Spot of Ground to another, as their Numbers encreased, came gradually into these fenny Lands, and sterile sandy Deserts, which they cultivated with infinite Labour. the Effect of Necessity, till at last, by raising the Ground where it was too low, and making some Places higher than the Rest, *Islands* were insensibly formed, which at once secured Them from the Violence of *Inundations*, and the Pursuits of their *Enemies*. This is the most rational Account of the Formation of the *Isles* of *Zealand*, nor will it appear at all improbable to those who have seen *Holland*, and observed their manner of draining Land, and making good Ground out of bad; a Thing done every Day in all the Parts of the *Low Countries*. (a)

Zealand, is in many Respects a very powerful Province, whether we consider the Nature of her *Situation* equally proper for the Promotion and Security of *Commerce*; the Largeness of her *Fisheries*, or the Number of her *Seamen*.

(a) This is done by cutting one or more Ponds or Canals so deep, as to drain the circumjacent Marsh, at the same Time that the Turf taken out of the Canals, is distributed round in Proportion as the Soil has Occasion to be raised; which in two Summers becomes firm and good Land,

She was for several Ages subject with *Holland* to the same *COUNT*, and since They have had none, she has always chosen the same *Governor*. It is not long, since one Chamber of Accompts superintended the *Revenue* of both Provinces, and at the Beginning of the Troubles, their *States* formed but one Assembly. The *STATES* of *ZEALAND* formerly consisted of three Orders; the *Clergy*, *Nobility*, and *Towns*. But the Reformation of *Religion* depriv'd the *Clergy* of that Right, and the noble Families are all become *extinct*, or at least there is no Person who is a *Member* of the *States* by Virtue of his *Birth* or any *Lordship* He may hold in the Province; so that the *Sovereignty* is now devolved on the *Towns*, whose Representatives assemble in the common Course of Business twice a Year, and extraordinarily as often as their Deputies think fit to convene Them.

WILLIAM the first, *PRINCE* of *ORANGE*, becoming *MARQUISS* of *TERVEER*, and *LORD* of *FLUSHING*, and *SAINT MARTENDYKE*, obtained the Quality of *first Noble* from the *States*, with the Right of representing, either in Person, or by Deputy, *all the Nobility of the Province*. His *Posterity* have succeeded Him in this *Dignity*, even down to the late *KING WILLIAM III*, tho' not by *hereditary Right*, but thro' the *Gratitude* of the *States*, as *Mon-*
sieur

sieur Wicquefort observes, who cites their Resolution on this Subject. (a)

But this Dignity being now extinct, the *provincial States* of *Zealand* as was said before, consist only of the Deputies of *Middleburgh*, *Zuricsea*, *Goes*, *Tole*, *Flushing*, and *Terveer*.

The COUNCIL of STATE is composed of one Deputy for each Town, who are chosen for Life; and the *Pensionary* and *Secretary* of the Province have the same Functions at this Board as Those of *Holland* in their respective Province; the *Government* being in all Respects the same, with Exception to the *Perpetuity* of the Members in the *Council of State*, and that Those of *Zealand* are at the same Time Commissioners of the *provincial Court of Admiralty*, and as such take an Oath to the *States General*.

The CITY SHERIFFS of ZEALAND, determine civil Causes in the last Resort, to a certain Value, (b) after which there lies an Appeal to the high Court of Justice in *Holland*; and for the Affairs of that part of *Flanders*

(a) See the Proofs of his Hist. No. 8.

(b) In 1587, It was agreed that the Sheriffs of *Middleburgh* should judge of all Causes without Limitation in the last Resort. Those of *Zuricsea*, *Tergoes*, and *Tertholin* as far as 60 Florins; Those of *Flushing* to 300, and Those of *Terveer* to 600, after which the Appeal lies to the high Court of Justice.

which

which is considered as a *Conquest* of the *Generality*, there is a Court of *Justice* consisting of a *President*, and eight *Councillors* ; a *Solicitor General*, a *Register*, and a *Receiver* of the *Fines*. The *States General* confer these Employments, and Appeals lie to them from the Judgment of the Court.

The Election of *City Magistrates*, is managed in the same manner in this *Province*, as in *Holland*, with Exception to some few Towns. In *Middleburgh*, which for its Riches and extensive Commerce, may justly be esteemed the Capital of *Zealand*, there are twelve *Burgeses*, called *Electors*, who are added to the *Senate*, and these conjointly make a double Nomination of such as they judge proper for the *Regency*, out of whom the *Stadtholder* or his *Deputy*, formerly chose such as He thought fit ; and since the Extinction of that Office, the Right of Election is devolved on the *Town*. Another Circumstance peculiar to *Middleburgh*, is, that the Dignity of *Senator* is not for Life, so that when the *Magistrates* have finished the Time for which they were chosen, They return to a private Condition, till by a new Election They are restored to their former Dignity. So wise a Caution has a very good Effect on the Affairs of *Zealand*, and is very worthy the Imitation of her Sister *Provinces*.



OF THE *Province* of UTRECHT.



HERE is a certain *Variety* in the *antient History* of the PROVINCE of UTRECHT, that pleases at the same time that It instructs. The CRITICS differ in their Opinions concerning the old Name of the *Capital City*. Some call it ANTONINA, from its being found in the Itinerary of the EMPEROR ANTONINUS. (a) BEDA and others, with more Probability name it VILTAEURG ; (b) but ALCUINUS to whom the Life of SAINT WILLIBRORD is attributed, gives it the same Name that it bears at present. (c)

Tunc data Pontifici est trajecto Sedes in Urbe.

(a) Guicc. Descritt. de i Paesi bassi.

(b) Vide Mabill. Annal. Bened.

(c) *Alcuinus* de Vita Sc. Will. L. 2. apud Canis, Lectio-
nes antiquæ.

This PROVINCE has been under four several *Dominations*, and upon each Revolution the *Methods of Government* have been altered. Originally She was incorporated with *Frizeland*, and depended on the DUKES and KINGS of that *Province*. In the second Instance her BISHOPS became absolute at Home and extended their Dominions into the neighbouring *Provinces*, making the Welfare of the Subject subservient to their Ambition. In the third, CHARLES V. stript the BISHOP of his *temporal Power*; broke thro' all the *Liberties* of the *Province*; imposed a *Governor* upon the *People*, and obliged the *Nobility* to own Themselves his *Vassals*. And lastly, upon the Establishment of the *Republic* of the *united Provinces*, and the *Reformation* of *Religion*, the Government took another Form, which It will be now our Business to describe. But the Reader will not be displeased if we postpone this a little, to take a short View of the antient State of the *Province* under the several Governments above mentioned.

PEPIN, whom the *French* Style PEPIN d'HERISTALS, had no sooner formed the Design of securing the CROWN of FRANCE to his Posterity, than he resolved to purchase the CLERGY at any Expence. In this View, He not only summoned a COUNCIL for the Renewal of *Ecclesiastical Discipline*,

Discipline, but revived the old annual Custom of convening the Estates of the Kingdom, amongst whom, He now first introduced the BISHOPS and ABBOTS, who 'till then had never been received in that Assembly: Nor had the COMMONS whom they term in FRANCE, *le Tiers Etat*, any Right in this early Age, to send their *Representatives* to the *Assembly* of the *States*; a Privilege, They have since carried to a very considerable Height, tho' it be now in a Manner lost again, or so reduced and obscured at least, by the vast Power acquired to that *Crown* during the Ministries of RICHLIEU and MAZARINE, as to be, in reality, nothing but a *Name*.

This PEPIN having subdued the FRISONS, and their Neighbours of the Province of UTRECHT, resolved to attempt their *Conversion*; and accordingly sent *Missionaries* amongst Them, one of whom was WILLIBRORD, who first preached the GOSPEL at UTRECHT; (a) and having afterwards received a new Name, and an extraordinary *Mission* from POPE SERGIUS, (b) He became the first BISHOP

(a) See *Batavia Sacra*, Lib. I.

(b) Anno 696.

of that City, with the Consent and Approbation of *Pepin*, who erected it into an *Episcopal See*, in his Favour.

CHARLES MARTEL, who observed the same Policy towards the *Church*, that *Pepin* had done; augmented the Revenue of the new *Bishoprick* of *Utrecht*, very considerably; which continued to encrease every Day, by the superstitious Liberality of the *People*, and the principal *Lords*; who did not foresee, when they made Donations of their *Waste Lands* to the *Church*, that from being uncultivated and seemingly of little Value, they would be so well improved in the Course of Time, as to enable the BISHOP to erect and maintain himself in a complicated Tyranny over their Lives and Fortunes, as well as their Consciences.

The *Normans*, who invaded *Holland*, about the latter End of the *tenth Century*, made great Devastations in this Province; burned the *Capital*, ravaged the *Country*, and spared neither the *Clergy* nor *Churches*. Some Time after which, BALDRICK, the then *Bishop*, who had a very great Ascendant over OTHO I, rebuilt the *Capital City*; and if we may credit certain old Verses, UTRECHT was then made the ME-

TROPOLIS of HOLLAND. (a) This *Bishop*, first obtained the Right of *Coining Money*, from the *Emperor Otho*

ADELBOLD who had been *Privy Counsellor* to the EMPEROR HENRY the 3d, was elected to the SEE of UTRECHT, soon after *Baldrick*, and carried his Pretensions much farther than any of his Predecessors. Historians inform us, that he was the First who extended his Territories by Force of Arms; but his Successors retained the same Spirit; and for near five hundred Years, We read of nothing but *War*, *Tyranny*, and *Persecution*: the two First, arising from the restless Ambition with which these *Prelates* were animated; and the latter, from a narrow spirited *Monkish Principle*, assisted by the gross Superstition and Ignorance of the Times.

From the Year 1017 to 1524, there is not above one *Bishop* (of Those who were active in their Stations) taken Notice of in all the History of so long an Interval, for having shewed a due Regard to the Liber-

(a) *Denique Baldricus Prasul nova menia struxit,
Que modo subsistunt, auxiliante Deo,
Sic Hollandensi Terræ veraciter omni
Trajectum consiat Urbis Capitalis adhuc.*

Guicciard, *Discrip. de i Paesi Bassi*, Pag. 199

ty and Priviledges of the People. This was GUY d' AVENES, who had the Goodness to confirm the Priviledges of the Magistracy of UTRECHT, by granting them a very extensive *Charter* which still Subsists.

For a long Series of Years, the GERMAN EMPERORS had assisted the BISHOPS of UTRECHT upon any Emergency, but the Time came, at last, that CHARLES V, ever vigilant on such Occasions, found an Opportunity of annexing this *Bishoprick* to the Hereditary Dominions of the House of AUSTRIA.

HENRY of BAVARIA was elected *Bishop*, by the Plurality of Voices in 1424, preferably to a great Number of Competitors, but scarce was he installed, e'er he began to exert his Power upon the *Senate* of *Amsterdam*, whom he cited before him upon Pretence of their permitting clandestine Marriages, and excommunicated them for their Non-Appearance. But the *Senate* instead of submitting, brought their Complaints before *Charles V.* then at *Malines*, who annulled the *Bishop's Sentence*, and declared the Excommunication void, and contrary to the Liberties of the City. This was the Beginning of the *Prelate's* Misfortunes. The People of UTRECHT, animated by those of *Amsterdam*, and encouraged

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couraged, no doubt, by the Behaviour of the *Emperor*, shut their Gates; received a Garrison which the DUKE of GELDER sent to their Assistance, and declared HENRY an Enemy to the Public. The BISHOP, on his Part took up Arms, and put the *Province* to great Inconveniencies; but his *Army* having deserted for want of Pay, He was reduced to have Recourse to CHARLES the 5th, who refused him his Assistance, 'till He slavishly offered to resign the Sovereignty of UTRECHT to Him, with all its Dependancies: This was a Temptation not to be withstood; and a Treaty was accordingly signed between the PRELATE and the *Emperor's Ministers*, at Schoonhoven, in 1527. But the DUKE of GELDER and the *People of Utrecht* being informed of a Bargain so ignominious in itself, and so injurious to their Liberty, deposed the *Bishop*, elected another, and prepared to resist the *Forces* that Charles should send to put the Treaty in Execution: Upon this a cruel War ensued, which was put an End to, by the Treachery of certain Inhabitants in *Utrecht*, who, either possessed by a false Point of Honour, and a blameable Loyalty for their former *Bishop*, or actuated by the Hopes of Reward, opened a Gate to the Imperial Forces,

ces. (a) The BISHOP immediately followed, and three Days afterwards, in a full Assembly of the *Clergy* and *Council*, proposed the Ratification of his Agreement with the *Emperor* as a Thing absolutely necessary. Their Opinions, however, upon so Melancholy an Occasion, were very much divided; but the Town being full of Traitors and Enemies, *determined to Force a Compliance, had it been refused*: The Assembly were at last induced, *the Dagger at their Throats*, to Pass an Act for the Confirmation of the Treaty. But this was no sooner known, than disapproved of by all the World, and the BISHOP, fell into so universal a Contempt, and became so sensible of it, that He abandoned his *Diocese*, and retired into *Germany*.

The People, however, were extremely unwilling to receive a new Master, by Virtue of so fraudulent and unjust a Contract. But CHARLES little used to regard Complaints of the Subject when oppressed to his Interest, entered the Province at the Head of his Army, took Possession of *Utrecht*, deposed the *Magistrates* that did not concur in his Designs, and abolished Part of their Priviledges. *Amersfort*, and other

(a) Ex veteris MS. Traject. Bat. Sacra. p. 240.

Towns of the Province underwent the same Fate; and in 1534, the EMPEROR settled Articles of *Union* between the Provinces of *Utrecht* and *Holland*, by which, he ordained that They should for the Future, be strictly united without Possibility of Separation, either by *Contract* of *Marriage*, *Sale*, or any other Agreement: And to render this *Union* more perfect, it is further provided, that both the *Provinces* should have one and the same *Governor*; that Sentences of *Banishment* and other Punishments, given in one Province should hold Good in the other; Insomuch, That a Criminal Banished from *Holland*, should find no *Asylum* in the Province of *Utrecht*, and *vice versa*; which Article continues still in force. And lastly, The EMPEROR demanded that those who were possessed of Fiefs in the Dependence of the *Bishoprick*, should acknowledge that they held Them of Him, as *Sovereign* of the *Province*, substituted in the Place of the BISHOP.

Thus Things were entirely altered under CHARLES the 5th, and upon the Reformation of Religion, and the Defection of the *Province* from *Spain*, in the Time of his Son PHILIP II. the Methods of Government, were again changed, and received the Form which they retain at present.

The

The **SATES** of **UTECHT** consist of three Orders; the **CLERGY**, **NOBILITY**, and the **COMMONS**. The *Deputies* of the *Clergy* are taken out of the five first *Chapters* of the *Cannons* of the City, Who are at present *Laymen*, that have bought those Places, and enjoy certain ecclesiastical Révenues annexed to them. These *Deputies*, who are Eight in Number, are called the *Elected*, and when a Vacancy happens amongst Them, the *Town* of *Utrecht* has a Right to present Two of its *Cannons* to the *Nobility*, and the four small *Towns*, of whom they elect One. Four of the *Cannons* are usually *Nobles*, tho' there is no express Law for that Purpose.

The Number of the **NOBILITY** who form the **SECOND ORDER**, is not fixed. They augment their Number with Consent of the other Orders, but there are several Conditions essential to One that would be elected into this Body, the Principal of which are, that he must bring sufficient Proof of a *noble Decent*, that he possess a *Lordship* in the Province worth at least twenty five thousand Florins, and that He be of the *reformed Religion*.

The **THIRD STATE** is formed out of the the *Senates* of the *five Towns* which have a Right to depute to the *Provincial Assembly*;

ly; the TOWN of UTRECHT pretends however, that the other Four have only a Right to debate without Voting, (a) and in Reality, Resolutions are often taken upon the *single Suffrage* of *Utrecht*, tho' the rest do not concur. The Court of *ordinary Deputies*, as they are Stiled, is equivalent to the *Council of State* in *Holland*, and consists of Four of the *Elected*; four *Nobles*, two *Deputies* of the Town of *Utrecht*, who are the two *Regent Burgomasters* for the Time being; One for the Town of *Amersfort*, and One for the other *Three*; who elect their Deputy *alternatively*, every four Months.

The SENATE of UTRECHT is composed of forty Persons, concerning whose Election, there have formerly been very great Disputes. The CLERGY and the NOBILITY, had appropriated the Right of Election to themselves, and always took Care that the PRESIDENT BURGOMASTER should be a *Nobleman*, who by Virtue of his *Quality* and *Rank* in the *provincial Assembly* of the *States*, found it no hard Matter to extend his Authority beyond that of his *Colleagues*. The Town often complained of This, but to no Purpose, 'till 1618, when PRINCE MAU-

(a) What the French call, *une Voix deliberative*.

RICE, then Governor of the Province, went thither with some *Deputies* of the *States General*, and terminated the Dispute, in Presence of the *provincial States* of *Utrecht*, and the *Deputies* of the *Town*, in the following Manner.

The Priviledge which the *Clergy* and *Nobility* had hitherto enjoyed was taken away; and it was agreed, that of the *forty Members* which then composed the *Town Council*, the PRINCE should chuse *Twenty*. Probably He might be jealous of the Rest, at a Time when the Disputes about *Grace*, and the Affair of *Barnveldt* divided Men's Affections. To Those the Magistrates were to name forty more, Inhabitants of the Town, Men of good Circumstances, and of the reformed Religion. To These *sixty* Persons, the PRINCE as STADTHOLDER should add *Twenty*; and lastly, from the whole Number of Fourscore, He should chuse *Forty*, who for the Time to come, should compose the *Senate*; and have a Power to elect their *Magistrates*, and fill up the Vacancies of their own Body, without being obliged to have *One* of the *Nobles* for their President Burgomaster; and this Form has continued ever since.

There is this Particular in the Government of the City of *Utrecht*, that a *Forreigner* who has resided *ten Years* in the Town, may be re-

ceived into the *Regency*; and those who are *born* in the Province, are admitted after *five Years*. As on the other Hand, to be a *Member* of the *Colledge* of *Nobles*, a *Cannon* of *Utrecht*, or in the *Service* of a *forreign Prince*, are all Circumstances that exclude a Person from that *Dignity*. In the same manner a *Father* and his *Son*; *Brothers*, and *Brothers-in-Law*; cannot be *Members* of the *Council* at the same Time; nor must a *Senator* be in the least concerned in *collecting* the *Taxes*, or *farming* the public *Revenues* of the *Town*. When there was a *Stadtholder*, He had the *Election* of *Magistrates* upon a double *Nomination* of the *Senate*, but since the *Death* of *WILLIAM the THIRD*, the *Town* has exercised that *Priviledge*.

The ancient *BISHOPS* of *UTRECHT* were, as we have seen, more intent on their *Conquests*, and the *Enlargement* of their *Dominions*, than anxious for the *Encouragement* of *Arts* and *Sciences*. Content to augment the *Revenues* of the *Church*, They never thought of erecting an *Academy* at *Utrecht*; an Honour They left to the *new Republic*, which in 1634. founded the *UNIVERSITY* of that *City*, and furnished it with able *Professors* in all *Faculties*. The principal of these have been *Vocius*, who left his Name to his *Disciples*, in *Opposition* to those of *Coccæius*, with whom He had very great *Disputes*, as well

well as with DES CARTES, whose *Philosophy* He decried. After Him we may reckon his Son, with *Burman*, and the celebrated GRÆVIUS- LEUSDEN, LEYDECKER, and RELAND, are Names of great Reputation in the *learned World*; and some of the present Members of this *Academy*, are Persons of distinguished Abilities.



OF THE PROVINCE OF FRIZELAND.



ISTORY does not afford any Example of a People who have been more eminent Lovers of *Liberty*, or that have asserted it with greater Bravery than the FRISONS. DRUSUS, (a) however, having cut a Communication between the *Rhine* and the *Iffel*, entred the *Zuider-Zee* with is *Fleet*; And having surprized the People void of any Apprehension, the

(a) Dio. Hist. L. 4 and L. 5. p. 126. 128.

whole Nation was at once seized with a panic Fear, and proved an easy Conquest to the *Romans*. But *DRUSUS* being dead, They immediately threw off the Yoke, crucified the *Roman Tax-Gatherers*, beat the Forces that were sent to reduce Them under the Command of *APRONIUS*, and regained their ancient Liberty with fresh Acquisitions of Glory and Reputation.

Their *EMBASSADORS* who appeared at *ROME* in the Time of *NERO*, maintained the Honour of the *Province* with a great Deal of Gallantry. *TACITUS* records the Names of these *EMBASSADORS* (*a*) who It seems were Men of very great Authority at Home, and behaved as such when at *Rome*. Being informed that It was the Custom for *foreign Ministers* in Alliance with the *Empire*, to sit amongst the *SENATORS* in *POMPEY'S THEATRE*; They took their Seats there likewise, and affirmed there was no Nation that had either more Courage, or *good Faith*, than the *GERMANS*.

After this the *FRIZONS* enjoyed their Liberties for a long Series of Years, tho' often

(*a*) *Autore Verrito & Malorige qui nationem eam regerant in quantum Germani regnantur.*

Tacit. Ann. Lib. 12. Ch. 45. p. 258.

attacked by the *Romans*, who had a mind to subdue them. But in CHARLEMAGNE'S Time their Government took another Form. This *Prince* reduced, and made Them Tributaries to FRANCE; and as it was the Custom of that Time to send COUNTS, or VICEROYS into the conquered *Provinces*, CHARLEMAGNE established one in FRIZELAND with the Title of POTESLAS.

FORTEMAN *the tall* was the first that enjoyed this Dignity, who after having defeated the SAXONS that came to pillage *Frizeland*; march'd with an Army of his Countrymen into ITALY, where they performed so many gallant Actions in *Charlemagne's* Service, that He permitted the *Province* to quarter a *Demi-Eagle* in her Arms, and by a Decree in the Year 802, He declared Her free and exempt from any Tribute for the Future.

A Part of *Frizeland* became subject to the HOUSE of BURGUNDY in the Time of PHILIP the GOOD, (a) but the Bulk of the *Province* continued to be governed by her *Poteslas* down to the Time of *Charles V*; and as the BISHOPS of *Utrecht* were either contemptible for their Sloth, or remarkable for their Ambition and Tyranny; the CHIEFS of FRIZELAND on the

(a) Anno 1496.

contrary were generally noble and disinterested Assertors of the *Rights* and *Freedom* of the *Subject*. ONE of Them having been solicited by WILLIAM COUNT of HOLLAND, and KING of the ROMANS, to assist him in obtaining the *Sovereignty* of the *Province*, was so far from complying that He struck a *Medal* in Detestation of the Proposal which bore this Inscription.

SIXTUS SIAERDAMA POTESTAS FRISIÆ.

and on the Reverse,

LIBERTAS PRÆVALET AURO.

This was so warmly resented by the KING of the *Romans*, that He entred *Frizeland* with a very considerable Army, and beat *Siardama*; but lost his Life in a second Expedition against the *Potestas*, who lived to carry on the War several Years afterward under the *Reign* of FLORENT.

The EMPEROR CHARLES V. was more successful in his Enterprizes upon FRIZELAND; which he entirely reduced in 1523; tho' with the Loss of his GENERAL, JOHN de WASSENAER, who had signalized Himself in the Battle of PAVIA, and was now killed before SLOTEN, which it seems was the last Place
in

in the Province that held out against the
EMPEROR.

The FRISONS recover'd their Liberties however under PHILIP 2d. by entring into the Confederacy of the *seven Provinces*; and nothing can be a stronger Proof of their extream Love of Freedom, than that their GOVERNOURS have never been able in the Course of so many Ages, to enlarge their Power, or acquire greater Titles; both which on the contrary have declined by Degrees; whereas in other Countries it has been usual enough to augment Them by gradual insensible *Usurpations* on the Right of the Subject. Their first Governours were KINGS, the second DUKES, and the Third ruled them under the Title of POTESTAS. It is true indeed that They have lately made the *Government*, or the STADTHOLDERSHIP of their *Province* Hereditary, but this was rather owing to Necessity than Choice, for his late MAJESTY KING WILLIAM having in 1675 managed certain Intrigues in order to obtain the *Stadtholdership*, the FRISONS, apprehensive It may be of that *Prince's* growing Power, resolved to perpetuate the Dignity of *Stadtholder* in that Branch of the *Nassau* Family, which is settled in the *Province*.

They took at the same Time however all imaginable Precautions for the Preservation of
their

their Priviledges; and amongst other Restrictions, the *Stadtholder* is incapacitated to make any Purchase in the *Province*; or at least when such an Acquisition is made, all Priviledges and Rights that may be dependant on the purchased Lands are suspended *pro Tempore*, and revived again when the Estate changes Hands, and revolves to a private Family.

But notwithstanding this, the *Stadtholder* has a very considerable Authority. He elects the *Magistrates* of all the Towns, except Those of *Leuwardin* and *Franeker*, from a double Nomination of the *Senates*. He has his Seat in the COUNCIL of STATE of the UNITED PROVINCES; and for some Time after the grand Revolution, when this Dignity was yet in its Infancy, He disposed of all military Preferments. But the STATES, agreeable to their old Custom of reducing the Power of their *Governours*, have since restrained this Priviledge to such *Posts* only as shall become vacant during the *Campaign*.

There are three *Provinces*, or at least three Districts, which bare the Name of *Frizeland*. The First governed by its own *Prince*, is EAST FRIZELAND, whose Capital is EMBDEN. The second is WEST FRIZELAND, now vulgarly called NORTH HOLLAND, which formerly

com-

comprehended the Town of AMSTERDAM, and the third is That which bears the Name of the PROVINCE of FRIZELAND.

The present FORM of Government established in this *Province* is very particular. FRIZELAND consists of four Quarters, three of which are OSTERGO, WESTERGO, SEVENWOULD, and the fourth is of the *Towns*. On the First of these depended eleven *Bailiwicks*, on the second *Nine*, and on the Third *Ten*. Each *Bailiwick*, and each *City*, send Two *Deputies*, who together represent the SOVEREIGNTY of the PROVINCE. When they are met in their *General Assembly*, they separate Themselves into four *Chambers*, Each of which chuses two *Deputies*, whom They term *the little Number*, and 'tis to these Persons, that all those address Themselves, who have any Thing that demands Recourse to the STATES. The NOBLES have no Rank amongst the STATES of FRIZELAND, and indeed there are no *Mannours* or *Lordships* in the *Province*. The Court of STATES DEPUTIES, consists of nine Persons; Two for each *Quarter* of the *Province*, and Three on the Part of the *Towns*. Those of the Quarters are changed every Year in the ordinary Course, but sometimes they are continued by a fresh Commission; and the *Town*

Deputies hold their Employ for three Years. The two principal Towns of this *Province* are *Leuwarden* and *Faneker*. The First is CAPITAL of *OÛTERSO*, where reside the *Court*, the *Council of State*; and provincial *Courts of Justice*. *FANEKER* is the CAPITAL of *WESTERGO*, and has formerly been celebrated for her *University*, founded in 1585. The Towns have all their *Senates* and *Burgomasters* whose Numbers are different. The *high Court of Justice* held at *Leuwarden*, is invested with a very great Authority, and consists of twelve *Councillors*, who are elected by their respective *Quarters*, and introduced to their Functions, by the *States Deputies*, to whom They take the customary *Oath of Office*. She judges *Sovereignly* of all Crimes that incur corporal Punishment, except such as regard the *ADMIRALTY*, and the *ARMY*; and the *STATES* repose so great a Confidence in the Decisions of this *Court*, that they never grant either *Pardon* or *Reprieve*, to Those who lie under her Sentence. *Appeals* are brought hither from the inferior Courts of the *Province*, which are determined according to the *Statute Laws* of *Frizeland*; and in Causes purely civil, there lies an Appeal from the Sentence of the *Court* by way of *Revision*. There are two Methods of *Revision*. The first is by Appeal to the same Court better informed; but in the mean

mean Time, the first Sentence may be executed, provided the Party in whole Favour It is, gives Security to pay the Sum in Question, *if the second Verdict goes against Him.* The second, which is called the *grand Revision*, is made in the Name of the *States*, whose *Deputies* chuse *Six Lawyers* whom they constitute *Revisors*, Three of the *Province* and three *Strangers*, who meet at LEUWARDIN, where a *Member* of the high Court delivers them a Copy of the *Process* sealed up, to be re-examined upon the *same Proofs that were before exhibited.* After the *Revisors* have given their *Opinions*, the same *Member* of the *high Court* produces a second sealed Paper, with the *separate Opinions* of the *Judges* who assisted at the former *Revision*; which being opened and considered, the *States Deputies* form a *Conclusion* from the *Plurality* of *Opinions*, as well of the *former Judges*, as of the *present Revisors*; and this is declared to be the Sentence of the STATES of FRIZELAND.





O F T H E

Province of OVERYSSEL.



OVERTSSEL is situated in the Middle, between *Frizeland*, *Gelderland*, the *Zuyder-Zee*, and the Country of *Westfalia*, near whose Borders the *Iffel* takes its Rise, which watering this Province in her Course, receives the *Rhine* at *Doesburg*, and afterwards empties her self into the *Zuyder-Zee*, or the *FLUVO LACUS* of the *Ancients*. This RIVER was originally called *SALA*, and those that lived on the Banks of it *SALIENS*, who were, beyond all doubt, the People that first inhabited the PROVINCE of OVERYSSEL. *TACITUS* who had thoroughly studied the Customs of *GERMANY*, gives us an Idea of the *SALIEN'S* Government, when tributary to the *ROMANS*.
 Their

Their CHIEF or GENERAL, had the Title of KING; but was elected by the *People*, (a) who retained several Parts of the *Supream Power* in their own Body; and amongst other Things, They had a Share in the Fines imposed on Criminals.

Pars Mulctæ Regi vel Civitati vindicatur.

The more important Affairs of the Government were debated in *popular Assemblies*, at which the *Priests* were present, whose Duty it was to impose Silence. Each CHIEF had a Right to harangue the *People*; who respected Him in Proportion to the Force of his *Eloquence*, or the Reputation He had acquired in *military Affairs*. They expressed their Approbation of what was said, by clashing their Weapons together in a *martial Manner*, and their Dislike by a *confused Murmur*.

For the Administration of *Justice*, the CHIEFS were used at certain Seasons, to take a *Tour*; or, as we call it, a *Circuit*, to the several Towns of the *Province*, attended by a considerable Number of Persons, who, upon these Occasions, were associated

(a) *Principes eleguntur*, says Tacitus.

to Them for the Dispensation of *Justice* and *Equity*. (a)

It is presumed that the *SALIQUE* LAW was first framed by the *People* of this *Province*, immediately after they had shook off their Dependance on the *ROMANS*. A *Constitution* that has since grown famous, from being received by the *FRENCH*, who consider it as one of the best Supports of their *CROWN*, which by this Law is limited to the *Males* of the *Royal Family*. *PHARAMOND* is indeed named for the Inventor of It, and It is particularly said that He convened an Assembly of the *French Lords* in 422, by whose Assistance it was compiled; and the Observation of it afterwards enforced by *CLOVIS* who drove the *Romans* out of *Gaul*, and succeeded *PHARAMOND* in that *Monarchy*. But the very near Affinity between the Names, would I own be enough to make me conclude it an Institution of the *SALIENS*, especially as the Law has ever been, and is at present religiously observed throughout the *Province* of *Overyffel*. (b) This Opinion is fortified by another Consideration, suggested by *MONSIEUR BASNAGE*,

(a) Centeni singulis Comites Consilium simul & Auctoritas adsunt Tac. *Germania*, Cap. XIII. Page 546.

(b) Vide *Junrus*.

who has given the World a very learned *Critic* on this Subject, (*b*) which is, that there are at least twenty different *Clauses* scattered about in the Body of the *Salique Law*, which are so many *Statutes* against the stealing of *SWINE*, insomuch that the *Preservation of those Animals*, appears to have been one of the principal *Intentions* of the *LEGISLATOR*, which could not have happen'd had He lived in any other Country than *Overyssel* or *Westfalia*, where the *HOGS* still continue to be the principal *Riches* of the *Inhabitants*, as they undoubtedly were at that Time.

The Government suffered a very great Change under *CHARLEMAGNE*; who having conquered *GERMANY*, annexed *Overyssel* and the neighbouring *Provinces* to his *Dominions*, and sent Them their several *Dukes* or *Counts* who ruled the People in his Name. *Overyssel*, in particular, had a *Distinct Governor* for each of her *Districts*, agreeable to the Observation of a *Saxon Poet*.

*Sed variis divisa modis Plebs omnis habebat,
Quot Pagos, tot pæne Duces.*

(b) Description historique du Gouvernement des Provinces unies.

Besides their *Governours*, They had another Officer of very great Authority, who was termed SCULTET, *quasi* SCHOUT, whose Power was equivalent to that of the ROMAN PRÆTOR, or the modern CITY BAILIFF. They were in a manner, associated to the *Counts* for the Administration of Justice : *Non potest ullus Comes qui sub regali Banno cognoscit, legitimam habere Judicium sine suo Sculteto* (a)

OVERYSSEL underwent another Revolution in the Time of CHARLES the BALD. This *Prince* having made War upon the EMPEROR LOTHAIRE, in Conjunction with his Brother LEWIS the *German*, KING of BAVARIA, They applied Themselves to the *Clergy* to corroborate the Title which Conquest had given Them over the *Emperor's* Dominions. It was the Custom of that Age for Princes to resign their *Crowns* to the *Clergy*, in order to receive them again with greater Lustre and Authority. The Priest in Gratitude for the Honour done Him, employed his venerable Character and the outside of Religion to engage the People in a passive Obedience. Agreeable to This, CHARLES and LEWIS having convened an Assembly of *Bishops* at *Aix la Capelle*, The

(a) Speculum Saxon. Lib. 1. Art. 50. 55, 56.

EMPEROR LOTHAIKE was by them declared unworthy of the Countries his Father LEWIS le DEBONNAIKE had left Him. *Receive say They to the two Brothers, Receive the Kingdom by the Authority of God, and govern it according to his Will. We advise, exhort and command you to do It.*

In this Manner these *Princes* received from a Congregation of *Prelates* the Donation of those Countries which They were already in Possession of by Conquest.

The greater Difficulty was how to divide the Spoil between themselves; but it was at last agreed that LEWIS should retain BAVARIA, which was his old Patrimony, with a part of Germany, including *Overyffel*, and the Neighbouring Provinces. A Partition that has since been the Occasion of several Quarrels; for *Lothaire*, thus stript of his Dominions, constantly maintained that the dismembred *Provinces* were always dependant on the *Emperor* and *Empire*, from whence the Succeeding *Emperors* took frequent Opportunities to revive their Pretensions to them.

The Government of *Overyffel* suffered another Change, still more disadvantageous than the former, under the BISHOPS of UTRECHT. These *Prelates*, though not absolute *Sovereigns* of the whole *Province*,

had got Possession of a Part of It, which they not only ruled in a very tyrannical Manner, but were the Occasion of numberless Mischiefs to the *Province*, from the Inveteracy of their Enemies; who to revenge themselves upon the *Bishop*, were sure to make cruel Inroads into the Country, to the Destruction of the People. It has been often remarked that the Government of *Ecclesiasticks* is very uncertain; for if on one Hand, the Veneration which the People entertain for their *Character*, gives Them an opportunity of extending their Dominions, under the Sanction of *Religion*; the same Circumstance renders Them less proper to defend their Possessions, when either Jealousy of *Power*, or a Desire of growing Rich at the Expence of the *Church*, excites their Neighbours to attack them. The People too are extremely various in their Opinions. One Man shall be so prejudiced as to hazard every Thing, even Life itself, to support the *Bishop* in all his Pretensions; whilst Another of a cooler Complexion, looks upon Nothing with so much Contempt as a *designing Ecclesiastick*, who under different Pretences, sacrifices the Dignity of his Character, and all real

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Concern for *Religion*, to secular Interest and unlimited Ambition. When the *Bishops* of *Utrecht* first made their Conquests in *Overyssel*, and began to exercise a Jurisdiction there, all imaginable Care was taken to hinder their Progression. According to the Constitution, they were to depend in a great Measure on the *States*, so far at least, as to attempt nothing of very great Consequence, without their Advice; but they often broke through the moderate Limits prescribed them by the *Law*, and abusing at once the *Devotion* of the *People* and the *Ardor* of the *Troops*, They led Them just as their Ambition directed. Sometimes the *Frisons* were their Enemies; and Peace should hardly be restored, when a new Quarrel would break out with the *Dukes* of *Gelder*; and This again, be succeeded by another, still more cruel and bloody, with their inveterate and powerful Enemies, the *Counts* of *Holland*.

The *States* of the *Province*, however, who could not possibly draw any Advantage from *Victories*, which served only to cherish the Ambition of the *Prelates*, very often opposed the March of their *Soldiers*; and leaving the *Bishop* to deal with his Enemies in the best Manner he could,
would

would regulate their Conduct agreeable to the Event of the *Campagne*. But such was the narrow spirited Temper of those dark and superstitious Ages, that there is scarce an Historian who does not blame this prudent Temporising in the *People* and *States* of *Overyffel*; as if it was the Duty of Mankind to run blindly into all the Enterprises of their *Sovereigns*, tho' the Success could only serve to draw on their own Ruin, in the Establishment of a *Tyranny*. Besides the *People* and *States*, we are told there was another Order of Persons in the *Province*, who often opposed the *Bishop*. (a) These were certain *Lords*, whose Names *Guichardine* has transmitted to us, (b) that were so many *Sovereigns* within their Respective Jurisdictions.

They were invested with all that Right which the *Civilians* term, *Jus Armorum & Fæderis*, the Right of arming their *Vassals* and *Dependants*, and of making *War* and *Peace* with their Neighbours.

(a) Et di piu vi sono diefi Luoghi molto principali & importanti i quali hanno larghissimi Privilegi. *Guichardini* Descriptione di tutti i Paesi Bassi. p. 165.

(b) The Titles of the ten Lords mentioned in *Guichardin*, are *Peppel*, *Ghelnuyden*, *Coeverden*, *Hardembergke*, *Omme*, *Almeloe*, *Goor*, *Diepenheim*, *Debden*, and *Enschede*.

But as those Lords could not always agree to unite, and were singly too weak to encounter the *Bishop*; He who never let slip an Occasion, had it frequently in his Power to destroy Them. and when a Cessation of foreign Broils gave the *Bishop* Leisure to turn his Thoughts, and apply all his Force to the Oppression of his Subjects at Home, then even the *People, Lords and States*, though all united, were still too weak to oppose Him, and in this Case they had Recourse to the *Emperor's* Protection. tho' the Remedy was worse than the Disease; for the *Imperial Troops* were never strong enough entirely to drive away Those of the *Bishop*; and having been used to free Quarter and a relaxed Discipline, They harraided the Country most miserably under the Pretence of defending it. It will be allowed I believe from what has been said, that the Ecclesiastical Government has been extreamly fatal to this *Province*; which in 1385 was the Scene of a short but surprizing Revolution under JOHN III. This *Prelate* from being *Secretary of State* to the KING of FRANCE, mounted into the See of *Utrecht*, by Virtue of one of those bold Steps which the *POPES* sometimes take to assert their *Supremacy*. The *CANNONS* had chosen another *BISHOP*, but the *POPE* thought fit to supercede the Election in Favour of This JOHN, who immediately
fell

fell upon enlarging his *Diocefs* by all possible Methods. Agreeable to This He bought feveral Eftates of the *Count* of *Bentheim*, and put Himfelf in Poffeffion of *Diepenheim*. But whether the Debts he had contracted to buy thefe Lands eat Him up; or that his Revenues were difipated by his *Luxury*; He died fo much in Debt, that the Diftricts of *Zalant*, *Twentb* and *Vollenhove* were given up to the *Duke* of *Gelderland*, and the *Count* of *Holland*, as Securities for the Money They had lent Him. But they did not remain long in their Hands: for the next *Bifhop* being as covetous as his Predeceffor had been extravagant, foon recovered a good Part of the mortgaged Country, and particularly the Diftricht and Caftle of *Vollenhove*. (a)

At laft *OVERYSSEL* changed its Mafter entirely, and became fubject to the Houfe of *Austria*. The provincial States weary of their Dependance on the *Bifhops* of *Utrecht*, laid hold on the Refignation which *Henry* of *Bavaria* made of his *Bifhoprick* to *Charles V.* for a Pretext to put Themfelves under his Government; who accordingly took Poffeffion of *Overyffel*, notwithstanding the Oppofition

(a) This was *Frederick Blankenheyman*, who died at *Vollenhove* in 1412.

made to it by the *Duke of Gelderland*, whom *Charles* easily obliged to acquiesce.

The *Province* however did not long remain subject to the *House of Austria*, for the People of the *Netherlands* having taken Arms in the manner we have related for the Defence of their Liberty, *Overyssel* threw off the *Spanish Yoke*, and entered into the Confederacy of the seven *Provinces*; upon which another Form of *Government* took Place, which is as follows.

The STATES of OVERYSSEL are composed of the Deputies of *Zalant*. *Twent* and *Vollenhove*, and of the three Towns, *Campen*, *Deventer*, and *Zwoll*; which six Members, with such of the *Nobility*, as have Lordships to the Value of thirty Thousand *Florins*, represent the *Sovereignty* of the *Province*. Strangers who desire to settle here and enter into the *Government*, have only to prove their *Nobility*, buy a *Lordship*, live in the *Province* two Years, and pay a certain Sum for their *Admission*.

Domestick Affairs of an ordinary Nature are resolved according to the Plurality of Voices, but in an uncommon Manner; for if one single *Nobleman* joins in Opinion with the three Towns, They make the *Plurality*; as in like manner, if one *Third* of the *Nobility*, and one *Nobleman* over and above, join with Two of the Towns, They are a *Majority*; and 'tis the same, if two thirds of the *Nobility*, and one

one more, agree with one of the three Towns. But all *Acts of State* which relate to new *Taxes*, *Peace* or *War*, require the unanimous Consent of all the Orders.

The BAILIFF or DROSSART of ZALANT convenes the States, by summoning the Deputies of his own Quarter Himself, and the Rest by the Interposition of their respective *Bailiffs*. He likewise presides in the general Assembly, collects the Suffrages, and forms the Conclusion. The three Towns, who have formerly been *Members* of the *Empire*, pretend still to be *Sovereign* within the *Circuit* of their Walls and *Precincts*; and that there lies no Appeal from their *Sentences*. The *Drossarts* however affirm, that their Jurisdiction extends into all the Towns of their Districts; but without deciding which is in the Right, 'tis most certain that the Towns have always maintained their Pretensions, and judge all Causes in the last Resort. Each of the Town *Senates* consists of sixteen *Burgomasters*, who are elected by the *People divided into forty Cantons*. These Gentlemen govern all important Affairs, and two of them are chosen weekly for the Dispatch of ordinary Business. There is a *Court of Justice* in this *Province*, tho' very unlike Those of *Holland* and *Zealand*; composed of one Deputy of every *Bailwick*, and each of the three Towns; which serves as a Council
of

of State to the *Province*. In matters of *Justice* there lies an Appeal from the ordinary *Judges*, to the several *Bailiffs* ; who determine all Causes in the last Resort ; and against their Sentences there is no Remedy in Law, except that every four or five Years, there is an Assembly of STATES DEPUTIES, before whom, any Person that thinks Himself grieved by a former Sentence, may have his Cause revised upon his Petition.

JUSTICE is dispensed in a very uncommon manner at *Deventer*. Twelve *Schepens*, and four *Councillors*, compose the *Tribunal* of that Town, and are elected every Year by an Assembly of the *Burgesses*, who take an Oath to give their Votes *impartially*, and chuse Persons of *reputed Integrity*. These *Electors*, to the Number of Forty eight, are drawn from all the different Streets of the Town, and They have a further Priviledge of Assembling from Time to Time, at least four Times a Year, to deliberate of the most important Affairs of the *Province*, without excepting even Those which relate to *Peace* and *War*.





OF THE
Province of GRONINGHEN,
 Which comprehends the
 OMMELANDS.



THE Town of GRONINGHEN, which is the *Capital* of this *Province*, is thought to be the Citadel that the ROMAN GENERAL CORBULO built to bridle the FRISONS, upon their returning into the *Roman* Obedience after their first Revolt. (a) Some Authors make it much more ancient; deriving It from the French Heroes of Antiquity, and through Them, from

(a) Vide Menſo Alting descriptio ſecundum antiquos Agri Batavi & Friſiæ, Pag. 5.

the TROJANS. (a) But this Opinion favours too much of the *Legend*; and the former on the contrary, appears extremely probable, from the great Conformity in the Rules of Government between *Groninghen* and *old Rome*. You see in *Groninghen* a *Senate* invested with the Sovereign Authority, and, other *Officers of State*, which answer to the *Consuls, Prætors, Censors, and Ediles*; and there has been even a *DICTATOR* created upon emergent Occasions. But what is still more convincing, the Town has several *municipal Laws*, which are apparently extracted from those of the *TWELVE TABLES*. 'Tis a known Law of the *Twelve Tables* that the *Prætor* should determine Causes, before Noon: that the *nearest Relation*, should be entrusted with the *Guardianship* of Children that had lost their *Father*: that there should be no drinking at *Funerals*; and that the Decisions of the People are *Sovereign*.

(a) Guicciardini, Descrizione di tutti i Paesi Bassi, P. 172. Grunighem secondo alcuni prese il nome, comme di sopra li fa mentione, da Grunio Trojano, il Munistero scrive che fusse di generatione Franco, cio e Franzese. Che potrebbe Stare l'uno & l'altro, conciosia che i Francesi affermano essere usciti di prima Origine da Troja.

In the XI and XII Ages, *Groninghen* became very considerable ; and the Inhabitants having rebelled against GODFREY BISHOP of UTRECHT in 1166, and made him their Prisoner ; FLORENT COUNT of HOLLAND came to his Assistance, released the *Bishop*, and besieged the Town, but could not possibly take It ; upon which the *Emperor Frederick* interposed his Authority and made up the Quarrel ; first reconciling the Inhabitants with the *Bishop*, and afterwards the *Bishop* with the Count of *Holland*, who had quarrelled about the Possession of certain Lands situated between *Groninghen* and the River *Lawer*. FLORENT pretended an absolute Right to them, by Virtue of certain Grants from former *Emperors* ; and on the other hand, the *Bishop* produced authentic Donations of a Part of the Territory ; upon which the *Emperor* decided the Dispute, by ordering that for the future, the Revenue of the Lands in question should be equally divided betwixt them ; in order to which They should pitch upon a third Person to be the *Count* or *Administrator*, and in Case They could not agree in their Choice, the *Emperor* would nominate Him. It was further ordered that They should both come to *Groninghen* every Year in the Month of *May*, where their Stay was limited to six Weeks, in which Time the *Bishop* was to
superintend

superintend and regulate all Ecclesiastical Concerns, whilst the *Count of Holland* took Care of the *civil Jurisdiction* and political Affairs of the Government.

This Example proves that *Groninghen* was then in some Degree a *Fief* of the *Empire*, since the *Emperor* acts rather as *Lord* of the *Soil* than a simple Arbitrator; and both the *Count of Holland* and the *Bishop* ground their Right on the Donations of his Ancestors. The People of GRONINGHEN continued to be the Sport of *Fortune* for several Years; at one Time so much at Ease as to think of extending their own Dominions at the Expence of their Neighbours, and at another so much harrassed and oppressed by their *Bishops*, as to be forced to call in foreign Assistance. And this unsettled Condition lasted till 1536, when she became entirely subject to CHARLES V.

The flat Country called the OMMELANDS, was formerly divided into several Districts each of which was *sovereign* Mistress of Her self, and all of them independant on the *Town of Groninghen*.

These *Districts*, and particularly That of *Frvelingo*, were governed by CONSULS annually elected, agreeable to the manner of old ROME. The CONSULSHIP was attended with a very great Authority, and the Election generally contested with a Violence that was

often fatal to the *Candidates*, as well as destructive to the PUBLIC PEACE. In 1280 They came to Blows in the Quarter of *Hunsingo*, where the Competitors were left dead on the Spot; and these Contests were common to all the Districts.

In Point of *Ecclesiastical Discipline*, and *Church Affairs*, Part of the *Ommelands* was formerly subject to the BISHOPS of MUNSTER, as the Town of *Groningen* and the Country of *Drent* were to those of *Utrecht*. LUDOLPHUS, *Bishop of Munster*, being informed of the ill Treatment the *Clergy* met with in this Country, interdicted the Celebration of *divine Service* in the Quarter of *Fivelingo* where a *Deacon* had been killed. (a) But the People had not always the necessary Respect for the *Bishops Censures*; They frequently gave Him the Trouble of appealing to *Rome*, and sometimes on the contrary they would submit to undergo a *Penance*.

We have already remarked that the several Districts of the *Ommelands* were so many distinct *Sovereignities*; They gave different *Arms*, and had their own *Troops*, and separate Interests. They frequently quarrelled and fought with each other; and sometimes

(a) Emonis Chron. Anno 1227. p. 129.

They have all united against *Groninghen* with different Success. In 1550 the *Town Forces* were victorious over Those of *Fivelingo* and *Drent*; but as nothing is more difficult than to bear a Tide of Prosperity with Decency, the Town abused her Victory so far as to draw on the Resentment of the other *Quarters*, who being all united, were Masters of the Field in their Turn, besieged and took *Groninghen*, and slighted her Fortifications. These were afterwards repaired however, and the *Ommelands* with the *City* came at once under the Domination of the *Emperor*, from which they again recovered by entering into the Confederacy of the *United Provinces*.

Thus the PROVINCE of GRONINGHEN is composed of two Bodies; The Town and the neighbouring Country, called in *Dutch*, *Ommelanden*, situated between the Rivers *Ems*, and *Lawer*. The Magistracy of the Town consists of eight BURGOMASTERS, and sixteen Councillors whose Dignity is for Life, but their Functions only annual. There are always four *Burgomasters* and twelve Councillors in the Regency, the remaining Eight being employed for that Year in other Functions. The REGENTS govern all political Affairs in a *Sovereign* Manner; and judge in the last Resort, all Causes both civil and criminal. The Places which become va-

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ant in the Magistracy, either by Death or Male Administration, are filled up by another Court composed of Twenty four Persons, called the *Sworn Society*; unless when a Magistrate dies in the Time of his Regency, in which Case the Council may dispose of the Vacancy, provided it be done within *ten Days* after the *Burial*. To preserve the Number of *sixteen Persons* in the *Regency*, the *sworn Society* assemble once a Year, by Virtue of a Privilege granted Them by the Town: The PRESIDENT BURGOMASTER puts into his Hat, nineteen *white*, and five *black Beans*, which answer to the Number of Electors, and Those who draw the five *black Beans*, chuse the Persons whom They judge proper to fill the vacant Places.

The OMMELANDS, are divided into three Quarters, whose *Laws* provide that Those who possess thirty Acres of Land, of the Value of a *Thousand Florins*, Money of *Embden*; and who pay eight *Florins* upon each Subsidy to the *State*, which is termed *Verponding*; have a Right to appear in the Assembly of the *Province*. The three Quarters however, have but one Voice and the Town another, so that the *Sovereignty* is equally divided between Them. Each Quarter is again subdivided into three smaller Districts

stricts, and no Resolution can be taken upon the Affairs of the Province, unless *six* of the smaller Districts concur in it.

There are several Jurisdictions throughout the *Province* both for civil and criminal Affairs; but there lies an Appeal from all their Sentences, to the COURT of JUSTICE established in the City of GRONINGHEN.

This Court is composed of a *President*, who is named alternatively by the *Town* and the *Ommelands*, and *eight Assessors*, of whom four are the *Regent Burgomasters* for the Time being, and the other four are perpetual, one of whom is nominated by the *Town*, and Three by the *Ommelands*.

The STATES of the PROVINCE consist of an equal Number of Deputies from the two Members, who assemble annually, on the 8th of *February*, and on that Day all Posts become vacant; but They are immediately filled up either by a new Election or a Continuation, of the same Persons. The STATES being assembled; deliberate, and resolve as *Sovereigns*, of all that concerns the *Province*; but as there are only two Suffrages in the Assembly, *equal* in Authority; when They happen to disagree, the Resolution is suspended, till one Party comes over to the Sentiments of the Other. The *Town*, and the

Ommelands, have an equal Right in the Distribution of Offices ; which They confer alternatively, and the Commissions are made out in the Name of the *Province*. They send *six Deputies* to the *States general* ; *Two* to the *Council of State* ; *Two* to the general *Chamber of Accounts* ; *Four* to the *Admiralty of Harlingen* ; and *One* to That of *Amsterdam*.

They chuse every Year eight Persons, who compose a *Court of States Deputies* ; and in the Absence of the *provincial States*, these Gentlemen regulate the Affairs of the *Province*, as the *Council of State* does in *Holland*.

In the same manner, they elect *six Persons*, who compose the *provincial Chamber* of the *Finances* ; *six Curators* for the University of *Groningen*, whose Professors they nominate likewise ; And lastly they dispose of all *Commissions* and military Offices, in the *Troops* that depend on their *Province*.

It is *Monsieur Basnage's* Remark, that this *Equality* in the *Distribution of Offices*, ought naturally to produce a good Correspondence, and Harmony, between the two Members of the *Province*, since it is usually the Bone of Contention, amongst the principal Persons in a *State*: But notwithstanding this, the Town and the *Ommelands*, are very often at Variance.



OF THE

Country of DRENT.



THE Ancient BISHOPS of UTRECHT pretended to be both *Spiritual* and *Temporal Lords* of DRENT. But of all those who acknowledged their Jurisdiction, none have opposed their Usurpations with greater Courage and Obstinacy than the Inhabitants of this little District. Their Animosity however has sometimes carried Them beyond the Bounds of Decency in their Resentment, particularly in the person of OTHO II, who with his Brother and a considerable Body of the Nobility, were cut off without Pity at the Siege of COVERDEN. The People were scandalized it seems to see a *Bishop* come against them in so hostile a manner, so they struck off his Head, and treated his Body with very great Indignity ; falsely imagining their Cruelty was justified by the *Bishops* acting out of Character. But his Successor WILBRAND entred the Country at the Head of his Army, and revenged the Death of OTHO. *Drent* became

became subject to the House of *Austria* with the Rest of the neighbouring *Provinces*, and recovered its Liberty by falling in with the grand Revolution under *Philip II.*

This little Country makes the *Frontier* of the *United Provinces* on the Side of *Westfalia*; and may in one Sense be styled a Part of them, since she contributes one *per Cent.* to the public Expence, and obeys the *States General.* Indeed she has no Representative in their Assembly, and in that only she is less than any other Member of the Republic; a Particular the People of *Drent* have often complained of, but to no Purpose. There seems to be something hard however in that Exclusion, for as she is not a Conquest of the Generality, but is Mistress of her own Revenue, and contributes in some Degree tho' a small one to the Expence of the *Union*, It were but equitable that she should have a proportionable Share in all the Honours and Advantages of It.





SECT. III.

OF THE

STATES GENERAL.



THE REPUBLIC of the UNITED PROVINCES, consists in a *Confederacy* of several *States* or *Sovereignties*, whose distinct Liberties and Methods of Government, we have taken a particular View of ; and These, like the *Swiss Cantons*, are united together, on Condition that each shall enjoy her own *Laws* and *Priviledges*. Thus, as all its Parts are Sovereign, Strangers must consequently regard the whole as such ; who have any thing to negotiate with the Body of the Union. The
STATES

STATES GENERAL, properly speaking, are the united Body of all the Representatives of each Province. In the Infancy of the *Commonwealth*, They were convened by the *Council of State* upon any Emergency, and separated as soon as the Business for which They were summoned was concluded. Their Numbers it seems were very large, since the Assembly held at *Bergen-Op-Zoom*, to ratify the Truce made with *Spain* in 1609, consisted of no less than eight hundred Members. But as so large a Number must necessarily occasion many Inconveniencies and a very great Expence, each Province contents Herself with sending a few *Deputies*, who Together, form that Body which we call the *States general*. An *Assembly of Plenipotentiaries* of the seven *Sovereignities* which compose the *State*; whose Power is limited either expressly or tacitly by his Instruction, *not to suffer the least Wound to be given to the Sovereignty of that Province which deutes Them*. These are the Persons who represent the Majesty of the Government and assume the Title of HIGH and MIGHTY LORDS or HIGH MIGHTINESSES. Besides the ordinary *Deputies*, the *Embassadors* of the *State* to foreign *Courts* have a Right to sit in this *Assembly*, whose Members are only accountable for their Actions and Behaviour to the *Province* that deutes them. Those

Those who are unacquainted with the Government of the *united Provinces*, generally imagine that the *States general* are the *Sovereigns* of the Country; as they consist of *Deputies* from all the *Provinces*, as They represent the *Body* of the *State*; receive *Embassadors*; and appear in General to be invested with the *sovereign Power*. But these *Deputies* are only appointed for a few Years, and tho' They have the Power of debating on the most important Affairs that regard the *Union*, and every thing that may tend to secure or promote the Preservation and Happiness of the State; yet they have not Power to conclude any Point of great Consequence without *communicating It to their respective Provinces, and receiving their express Consent*. This is undoubtedly the weak Side of the Government, which would have been stronger, if the *Seven Provinces* made but *one Sovereignty*. Resolutions would be sooner taken, and the Execution of them more vigorous; but It would have been dangerous perhaps in the Beginning to have divested the *Provinces* of their old Priviledges in Favour of any new erected Body. In the Assembly of the *States general*, the *Provinces* preside weekly in their Turn, beginning with *Gelderland*, who had the *Precedency* before the *Union*, when They were all under the Dominion of the *King of Spain*

Spain; and the Rest follow in the Order we have already considered Them. He who is first named in the Deputation of the Province presides, and is from thence called *PRESIDENT of the WEEK*: This *Gentleman* proposes the *Subjects* that are to be debated, and collects the *Votes* of the *Assembly*; upon which he forms the *Conclusion*, dictates to the *Register*, and afterwards *signs* the *Resolution*. If the *President* refuses to conclude agreeable to the *Plurality of Voices*, in Cases where the *Plurality* takes Place, either because it may be contrary to the *Sense* of his *Province*, or his own *Opinion*, He resigns the *Chair* to the *President* of the *former Week*; and if He likewise refuses, They have Recourse to the *former President*, and so *backwards* till one seats Himself in the *Chair*, and concludes,

We have already observed, that in the Infancy of the *Republic*, this Assembly was not perpetual: The *Provincial States* did not send their *Deputies* to the *General Assembly*, unless they were convened by the *Council of State*, on whom the *Execution* of all *Resolutions* taken by the *States General* devolved. But the Authority which this Council acquired from hence; especially, during the Time of the *EARL* of *LEICESTER*, or rather the Authority acquired by the *Earl* Himself, gave Umbrage

to the *Provincial States*, who thereupon resolved that the *Deputies* of the *States General* should continue always assembled. It seems his LORDSHIP, who presided in the *Council*, would never suffer the *States* to be convened, 'till he had already digested the Points upon which They were to be consulted, and prepared Things to go just as He would have them: So they were rather called together to ratify what was already concluded, than to debate it; and from hence sprung the ill Temper and Jealousy of the *States*, who thought their Liberties in Danger, whilst that LORD resided amongst them: And it appears indeed by the Manner in which He was recalled, that QUEEN ELISABETH was of the same Opinion.

I have already said, that the STATES GENERAL can neither make *War* or *Peace*, without the Consent of the *Provinces*; neither can they raise *Troops*, impose a *Tax*, enter into a *Foreign Alliance*; or abrogate an old *Law*, without the same Concurrence.

The *Provincial States* have reserved to Themselves several other Things expressly; such as the Liberty of *electing a Stadtholder*, or *refusing Him*; the Right of nominating to the several Governments of *Towns* and
Forts

Forts that depend on their respective *Provinces*; That of keeping the *Keys* and giving the *Word* by the *Magistrate*; a *Power* over the *Troops*, in all Things that are not purely *Military*; of conferring the *Colonel's* Commissions, and the other Subaltern Posts, in those Regiments which are paid by their *respective Provinces*; of placing *Garrisons* in such *Towns* as they think fit, and changing them with the Consent of the *Council of State*; of taking an Oath of *Fidelity* from the *Troops* to *Themselves*, and the *Magistrates* of the several *Towns* in which they enter; all which are standing Articles, and the *States General* are not permitted even to debate concerning their *Revocation*. But notwithstanding these *Restrictions*, they are invested with a very great Authority, which may be properly distinguished under these three Heads, First, As to *Domestick Affairs*, Secondly, with Regard to the *Towns* of the *Generality* that have been conquered since the *Union of Utrecht*. And lastly, in Reference to *Embassadors of Foreign Princes*.

As to their Authority in *domestick Affairs*, we can only say, That the *States General* are charged with the *Execution* of the *Perpetual Alliance*, or *Union of Utrecht*.

It is, indeed, their Duty, as I have said above, to consult on every Thing that respects the *Common Good* of the *Republic*, either at Home or Abroad: Its Defence in Time of *War*, and *Alliances* in Time of *Peace*. But the Resolutions They take on any of these Heads are not *valid*, 'till they are *ratified* by all the *Provinces*. When that is done, the *Resolution* passes into a *Law*, and a *Placaert* or *Ordinance* is issued by the *States General*, and sent to the *Provincial States*, requiring them to receive It; but this is done in *Terms* that imply no *Command*, or *Superiority*, or that can possibly give the least *Wound* to the *Sovereignty* of the particular *Provinces*.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE, reports a remarkable Instance of the Violation of the ordinary Practice, upon his being sent to *Holland* in 1668, when the *States General* ventured to act against the fundamental Laws of the *Union*, and conclude three different *Treaties* with *England*, without the Concurrence, or even the Participation of the *Provincial States*. SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE remarks at the same Time indeed, that the *Deputies* had forfeited their Heads, if they had been disavowed. But It seems, the Necessity of concluding those *Treaties* with Expedition was so evident;

and the Advantages that would naturally result from Them to the *Republic* so considerable ; that they ran very little Hazard ; and accordingly their Conduct was universally approved by their Principals. Thus we see that as to *domestick Affairs*, the STATES GENERAL are far from acting in a *Sovereign Manner*. However, as They are generally made up of the most powerful as well as the wisest Men of the *Republic*, We cannot doubt, but the Resolutions taken by them, must have a very great Influence on the several provincial Assemblies.

With Respect to the Towns that have fallen under the *Domination* of the Provinces, since the *Union of Utrecht*, the *States general* must be considered in another Light ; for they are the absolute *Sovereigns* of all Lands and Places conquered by the *Arms* of the *Union* ; as *Bois le duc*, *Breda*, *Bergen-op-Zoom*, *Grave*, *Williamstadt*, and *Mastricht* ; of the *Country* on the other Side the *MAESE* ; *Hulst*, *Sluice*, *Ardembourg*, and several other Places in *Flanders* ; which they possess as the KING of *SPAIN* did, *without Prejudice to the Rights of particular Lords, to whom the Inheritance is preserved.* (a) *MASTRICHT* They hold in common with the BISHOP of *LIEGE*, who cre-

(a) See *Wicquefort*.

ates half the *Magistrates*, and the *States general* the Rest; but These confer the Government of the Town, in which they always maintain a strong Garrison. For the Regulation of those Places that depend on the *Generality in Brabant*, and on the other Side the *Muese*, the STATES GENERAL have ever since the Year 1591 established a Court at the HAGUE, called the *Council of Brabant*, which judges in the last Resort of all Causes both civil and criminal, that come before it by *Appeal*, from any of the *Town Courts* of these Districts; with Exception to *Mastricht*, whither the *States* send every two Years, Two of their Body, in Quality of *Commissioners Deciders*, who in Conjunction with Those of the *Bishop or Prince of Liege*, judge all Disputes which arise between the Inhabitants of either Country. The *Sovereignty* of all Lands, acquired by the *Dutch East and West India Companies*, in AFRICA, AMERICA, and the INDIES, does likewise vest in the *States general*.

With Respect to the Power of the *States general* in Relation to *Embassadors*; I shall reserve what I have to say on that Subject to the third Part of this Book.



SECT IV.
OF THE
Council of STATE,
AND
General Chamber of ACCOMPTS.



THE Erection of the COUNCIL of STATE was projected by the STATES of *Holland*, *Zealand* and *Utrecht*, in Concert with that great Politician WILLIAM the First, PRINCE of ORANGE. The tragical and unexpected Death of this PRINCE, contrary to all Expectation produced very little Alteration in the Measures that had been taken in his Life Time, for

for the Establishment of this Council, which the STATES GENERAL erected in the same Year 1584, with a very ample Authority. *Affairs of State*, both foreign and domestic; the *Army* and *Revenue*, were all entrusted to her *Care*: but the STATES THEMSELVES soon grew jealous of this extraordinary Power, which They resolved to reduce gradually; and accordingly by a new Instruction in 1651, the Disposition of *military Affairs*, and the Command of the *Army*, from being peculiar to the *Council*, was in Part transferred to the *States general*; who now give Orders for the Safety and Defence of the *State*; the Motion of the *Troops* and the Operations of the *Campagne*. But this is not done without consulting the *Council* however, which still retains the Care of raising and disbanding; cloathing and arming the *Soldiers*; of *Exercises* and *Reviews*; and in general of all the *military Discipline* and *Oeconomy*. She is likewise charged with the Care of the *Fortifications* and *Magazines* of *Gelderland* and *Overyssel*, which make the *Frontier* of the *seven Provinces*.

Business of State, especially that which is *foreign*, depends now entirely on the *States general*; but the *Council* still retains the Inspection of the general Revenue of the *Union*, and gives orders for Payments; on which

Account the TREASURER GENERAL has his Seat at this Board, and a *Right to debate but not to vote.* (a) The Office of *Treasurer* is for Life, which gives him an Opportunity of acquiring so perfect a Knowledge of Affairs, as makes Him entirely necessary. 'Tis He who prepares every Year under the Authority of the *Council* an exact Account of the Funds necessary for maintaining the *Troops* and *Officers* in Pay, and all other *Expences* that regard the Generality; which is what they call *l'Etat de la Guerre*.

The RECEIVER GENERAL attends here likewise, to instruct the Council what Funds are in his Hands; which being done, He withdraws. The Treaty of *Union* obliges each Province to levy certain Taxes, to be applied to the common Necessities of the whole Body; but this Article could never be executed, and probably never will, because the *Inland Provinces*, who have little or no Commerce, cannot possibly pay an equal *Quota* with Those where Trade flourishes. The following Proportion is what each Province always pays in the Sum of one Hundred *Gilders* or *Florins*.

(a) The French call This, *une Voix excitative.*

<i>Gelderland</i> —————	<i>F.</i> 5:11: 2
<i>Holland</i> —————	57:14: 8
<i>Zealand</i> —————	9: 1:10
<i>Utrecht</i> —————	5:15: 5
<i>Frizeland</i> —————	11:10:11
<i>Overyffel</i> —————	3:10: 8
<i>Groninghen and the Ommelands</i> -	5:15: 6
<i>Country of Drent</i> —————	19:10

F. 100: 0: 0

They do not always confine Themselves however within their settled Proportions ; but raise such Sums, and by such Ways and Means, as they think proper, of which they send their *Quota* to the *Receiver General*, and employ the rest as they please. In Time of War, when the ordinary Revenues are not sufficient for the necessary Expence, the *Council* demands the Settlement of *new Funds* from the *States general* ; and to these extraordinary Expences the Provinces contribute in the following Proportion.

<i>Gelderland</i> —————	<i>F.</i> 5:12:13
<i>Holland</i> —————	58: 6: $4\frac{1}{4}$
<i>Zealand</i> —————	9: 3: 8
<i>Utrecht</i> —————	5:16: $7\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Frizeland</i> —————	11:13: $2\frac{3}{4}$
<i>Overyffel</i> —————	3:11: 5
<i>Groninghen</i> —————	5:16: $7\frac{1}{2}$
<hr/>	
	<i>F.</i> 100 0 0

And the little Country of *Drent* furnishes One *per Cent* over and above.

In the Assemblies of the *States General*, and *Provincial States*, the *Suffrages* are not taken *capiatim* but *provincialiter*; and therefore the *Provinces*, and the *Towns*, may send what Number of *Deputies* they please, because they all *virtually* have but one Voice. But in this *Council* the *Provinces* are represented by such a Number of *Deputies*, as bears a tollerable Proportion to the *Money* which each of Them contributes for the Support of the *Whole*, with Exception only to *Groninghen*. GELDERLAND has One, HOLLAND Three, ZEALAND Two, UTRECHT One, FRIZELAND Two, OVERYSSSEL One, and GRONINGHEN Two; who
with

with the DEPUTIES of the NOBLES, and *Governors of Provinces*, are the Persons that compose the *Council of State*. And here each Member has a *decisive Voice*, and presides in his Turn, without Regard to the Rank of the *Provinces*.

For the Regulation of ACCOMPTS between the *Provinces*, and auditing those of particular *Receivers*; with the Income of the Lands which belong to the *State* in General, there is a CHAMBER of ACCOMPTS, composed of *fourteen Deputies* of all the *Provinces*, and two *Secretaries*, who likewise do the Business of *Auditors*, and *Correctors*. This *Chamber* examines the Accompts of the several *Admiralties*, who receive the Money arising from Duties of *Importation* and *Exportation*, appropriated by the *States* to the Service of the *Navy*. In the same manner, she superintends and regulates the Expences of the *States Deputies*, who travel and execute Commissions for the *Public*; the Salaries and extraordinary Expences of *Embassadors*, *extraordinary Deputies*, and other *Ministers* employed in foreign Courts; and keeps an exact *Register* of all Orders made by the *Council of State*, for whose Ease, She was indeed chiefly erected.



S E C T. V.

OF THE

ADMIRALTY

OF THE

UNITED PROVINCES.



THE ADMIRALTY of the *United Provinces* is divided into five different Courts, which are those of the *Maese*, *Amsterdam*, *North Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Frizeland*. The First, which resides at *Rotterdam*, consists of

of twelve Commissioners, of whom, seven are elected by the *Province of Holland*; and the remaining Five, are deputed by *Gelderland, Zealand, Frizeland, Utrecht, and Over-yssel*. The second *Admiralty*, which is that of *Amsterdam*, is composed of six Members for *Holland*, and one for each of the other six *Provinces*. I am ignorant of the exact Number of Commissioners that compose That of *North Holland*, which resides at *Horn*, and *Enchuisen* alternatively, removing every three Months. The *Admiralty of Zealand*, is fixed to the Town of *Middleborough*, and consists of eleven Commissioners, four of whom are deputed by *Holland*, a fifth by the Province of *Utrecht*, and the other six Members are of *Zealand*, and serve at the same Time as the *Council of State* for that *Province*. The fifth *Admiralty*, which is that of *Frizeland*, is established in the Town of *Harlinghen*, and consists of ten Commissioners; four of the *Province*; two for *Groninghen* and the *Ommelande*s; one for *Gelderland*, and another for *Holland*. Each of these Courts has a *Secretary*, a *Fiscal* or *Solicitor General*, a *Receiver*, a *Commissioner General*, who superintends the *Seizures* and *Customhouse Officers*; , and a *Comptroller General* of the *Duties of Importation and Exportation*;

tion; with Numbers of inferior *Commis*, or *Customhouse Officers*. The Commissioners of these several Courts are elected by the *States* of their respective Provinces, who exact an Oath from Them, that They have given no *BRIBE* to obtain their *Election*. They must likewise swear, to execute all political Resolutions taken by the *States General*, with the Concurrence of their respective Provinces, and to observe the several Articles of their Instructions; by which among other Restrictions, They are incapacitated, to buy the Merchandize, that is seized by the *Customhouse Officers* of their *Dependance*, and confiscated by Sentence of *Admiralty*; which seems to be a very equitable Reserve, since the *Admiralties* are invested with a particular Jurisdiction by which they are authorized to judge and determine all Disputes, that arise from Frauds, committed in the *Entry of Goods*; and if these Causes are criminal, They Judge in the *last Resort*; but in those that are purely *Civil*, there lies an Appeal from their Sentence, to the *STATES GENERAL* by Way of Revision. The *Admiralty* receives all the Duties of *Importation* and *Exportation*, which the *Provinces* have appropriated to the Use of the *Navy*; and when a *War* lessens *Trade*, and

aug-

augments the Expence, the *Council of State* demands an extraordinary Supply from the *States General* for that Service. In the same Manner, when the *States* are resolved on the Number of Ships which the Fleet is to consist of, the *Council* dispatches Its Orders to the several Admiralties, who accordingly, fit out their respective Quotas agreeable to the established Proportion. The *Admiralty of Amsterdam* furnishes *one Third*, and the other Four, each a *sixth Part* of the Fleet. The Ships are fitted out for the Sea, and provided with all warlike and naval Stores by the *Admiralties*, but the Charge of Victualling lies on the *Captain*, for which the Provinces allow *seven Pence per Diem*, for each private Man; and about *ten Pence* for each Officer; and at the End of the Voyage the *Admiralty* of the *Province* takes off the remaining Provisions at the Price they cost the *Captain*. The HIGH ADMIRAL, and in his Absence, the VICE or LIEUTENANT ADMIRAL, as he is called in Holland, has his Seat and presides in all the Courts of *Admiralty*. The principal Officers of the Fleet, the Admirals, Vice Admirals, and Rear Admirals, are nominated by the *States General*; and even the private
Captains

Captains are chosen by Them likewise, upon a double Nomination of the *Admiralties*, who have only the Power to dispose of *Lieutenancies* and other Subaltern Employments.



S E C T



S E C T. VI.

O F T H E

R E L I G I O N

A n d M E T H O D S o f

Ecclesiastical Government,

E s t a b l i s h e d i n t h e

U N I T E D P R O V I N C E S.



SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE, in his Remarks on the *United Provinces*, says, That possibly RELIGION may do more *Good* in other Countries, but that It did least *Hurt* in *Holland*. SIR WILLIAM, indeed, does not speak in the Character of a *Divine*, but merely as a *Politician*, and as such I conceive his Remark will amount to
no

no less than this, That he thought the Methods of *Ecclesiastical* Government, established in the *united Provinces*, were better calculated for the *secular Interest* and *Happiness* of the People, than Those of any other State. The great Difference between the CHURCH GOVERNMENT of *Holland*, and that of other Countries, consists in a general Tolleration of *Sects*. At the UNION of UTRECHT, the *States general* declared, as I have observed above, that the REFORMED RELIGION, or if you please CALVINISM, should be the established and public Religion of the *united Provinces*, providing very expressly however, that no Person should be molested or persecuted in any Degree, on Account of his *Religion*, if in other Respects, He behaved as a good Subject, and was obedient to the *Laws*. But this Indulgence for Sectaries has drawn many a bitter *Sarcasm* on the *Dutch*, who have often been charged from thence, with having no Religion at all. At GENEVA which was so long the Residence of CALVIN, LIBERTY of CONSCIENCE is not permitted, Witness SERVETUS who was there condemned and burnt for *Heresy*, in a manner that does very little Honour either to CALVIN or the GENEVOIS his *Cotemporaries*. (a) The same

(a) See COLLET's Life of SERVETUS.

Temper prevails in the CANTON of BEARN, witness their Expulsion of the *Anabaptists*; but in *Holland*, the Spirit of Persecution seems to be extinct, or asleep at least; and unless it were once, in the Time of PRINCE MAURICE, and BARNEVELDT, when Religion was indeed a Cloak to Party and Interest, there can be no Instance given, of any Person's suffering for his *Faith* in Matters of *Doctrine*, or his Adherence to certain *Exterior Modes of Worship*. I have said enough in the Introduction of this Book to express my own Approbation of this *general Lenity* for *Dissenters*. I leave it to *Divines* to shew its Conformity to the Rules of the *Gospel*; (a) but that it is very consistent with *secular Happiness*, the domestic Peace and Tranquility of the *united Provinces*, is an illustrious Proof, which It is impossible to controvert. Indeed One must be very little acquainted with Mankind, not to be convinced of This; for in the Inter-course and Commerce of the World, the Question is not what *Religion* a Man is of, but whether he is *honest*; and therefore

(a) Voyez *Basnage* Cha. 39 de sa Description historique du Gouvernement des Provinces unies. intitulé De la Religion des *Hollandois* et Apologie des Etats Generaux sur la Tolérance des Sectes.

Sir *William Temple* had great Reason to wonder that People should be so straight laced in Matters of *Faith*, about which Mankind in general never were of the same Mind; and so easy as to *moral Virtues*, the Truth and Excellency of which nobody contests.

If I might define the established Religion of the *united Provinces*, I should call it a moderate *Calvinism*. The REGENTS of the Country must be of this Religion, and the Churches are devoted to the Exercise of It. The ARMINIANS are a powerful Sect in *Holland*, both for their Number and Quality; differing from the *Calvinists* only upon the Doctrines of *Grace*, and absolute *Predestination*; and It was once a *moot Point* which Persuasion should predominate; but the Decrees of the SYNOD of DORT, and the Fate of BARNEVELDT, put an End to all Competition between the two Parties, and ever since the Death of PRINCE FREDERICK HENRY, who thought fit for Reasons of State to countenance the *Arminians*, their Sect has continued to decline.

The ANABAPTISTS make another Division of the People, and since the Expulsion of their Brethren out of the CANTON of BEARN, They are become very numerous. The QUAKERS have their Assemblies in *Holland* likewise; and in general, the SOCINIANS,
BROWNISTS

BROWNISTS, and all other Sects that have prevailed in CHRISTENDOM, are to be found in the *united Provinces*. The JEWS are extremely numerous in the *Province of Holland*, especially in *Amsterdam*, where their *Synagogue* is an Ornament to the City ; and in 1725, They had begun to erect very handsome Buildings for the same Purpose, both at *Rotterdam* and the *Hague*.

There are very great Numbers of ROMAN CATHOLICKS in the *united Provinces*, notwithstanding their Religion as Sir *William Temple* observes, is not immediately protected by the *Laws* of the *Republic*. The same Author has assigned the Reason of This, which is that the STATES believe the *Roman Catholick Religion* must make Men bad Subjects, whilst It teaches Them *to acknowledge a Foreign Power superior to That under which They live* : and accordingly They have made several penal Laws to prevent the Growth of It. But as each Province has reserved to Herself the Liberty of regulating *Religion* within her own Jurisdiction, these penal Laws of the *States General* have never been put in Execution. In *Holland* especially neither Prudence nor Policy would permit Them to exclude so large a Body as the *Roman Catholicks* out of the general Toleration ; and accordingly They are very numerous in the

great Towns of that Province, where the *Magistrates* give Them an equal Protection with other Dissenters. At *Amsterdam* They have not fewer than *twenty four* Chappels. There are great Numbers of the same Communion in *Rotterdam*, and several other Cities ; but They are most numerous in the *Villages*, inso-much that a *Miller*, *Smith*, or any other Mechanic being a *Protestant*, is sure to be a *Beggar* if He settles in the Country ; for the Priests never fail to enjoin their whole Communion to neglect Him. This perhaps may seem strange to the *English* Reader, who considers *Holland* as a reformed Country, and a principal BULWARK of the protestant Religion ; but I speak upon good Grounds, and amongst many Proofs which I might bring of the Truth of what I advance, I chuse to instance the *Remonstrance* made to the *States general*, in 1725, by the *Deputies of the general Synod*, who represented the Growth of *Popery* in the most pathetic Terms, and affirmed that since the Year 1650 the Number of *Roman Catholicks* in the seven Provinces, was encreased THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND, of which They had authentic Proofs. This is plain Evidence both of their great Numbers, and the *Affiduity* of the *Priests* in their Profession ; for considering how many of both Sexes the *Monasteries* and *Nunneries* take off,

who

who engage in Vows of *Celebacy* and *Virginity*; and that great Numbers actually leave the *united Provinces* yearly upon these Accounts, to settle in the religious Houses of the adjacent Countries, It will be different to account for so large an Augmentation without the Help of *new Conversions*. As necessary however as it may seem to restrain the Growth of *Popery*, It would be difficult if not impossible to effect it without some Degree of Persecution; and therefore the STATES will act in it with the utmost Caution. But were They less delicate, In vain are penal Laws whilst the *City and Village Schouts* remain the Overseers and Prosecutors of criminal Affairs; for These will ever dispence with the Practices of the *Priests* for a Sum of Money, which They are always in a Condition to furnish upon such an Occasion.

The CHURCH of the *united Provinces*, is governed by a *Presbitery*, where every ecclesiastical Member is equal to another. The Business of particular Congregations is regulated in their respective *Consistories*, composed of the *Ministers Elders* and *Deacons* of the Congregation. But the more important Affairs of the Church; all that regards the State of Religion in general; *Censures* and *Degradations*; is managed in *Synods*, which are both provincial and general. These assemble twice

a Year, and notify to the *States* the Time of their Meeting, upon which they depute a Member of their own Body to the *Synod*, with the Title of *COMMISSARIUS POLITICUS*, who is always a Person conspicuous for his Learning and Abilities. He harrangues the *Synod*, congratulating Them upon their meeting with the Marks of *Harmony* and *Unanimity*, and presides in the Assembly as a sort of *Moderator*. The Presence of one so qualified in Behalf of the *Sovereign*, has a wonderful good Effect on a Body of Men, who might otherwise be apt enough to shake Hands with the Respect They owe their Superiors, and extend their Care to Matters entirely out of their Sphere. This the *States* appear to be extremely sensible of, and provide accordingly. Every three Years the general *Synod* sends a Deputation to the *States general*, to represent the State of Religion in the *united Provinces*, and desire the Reform of such Abuses, as their own Authority does not extend to: After which the same Deputation goes on to the UNIVERSITY of LEYDEN, where They demand to see the authentic Pieces of the *Bible*, that are in the keeping of that *Academy*.

Each *City* pays her own *Ministers* out of the public Revenues; for the *States*, when they assumed the *Church* and *Abbey Lands*,
settled

settled no Funds for the Maintainance of the *Clergy*, whose Salaries are now very much upon an Equality, and are generally about *One Hundred and fifty*, and from thence to *One Hundred and Eighty Pounds Sterling per Annum*.

I cannot end this Section more properly nor give better Evidence to some Things I have advanced, than by inserting the Answer of the STATES GENERAL, as entered in their Registers, to a *Memorial* presented to Them in 1725, from the REPUBLIC of VENICE, on Occasion of a Dispute that arose between the JESUITS and JANSENISTS concerning the Election of a *titular Arch-Bishop* of *Utrecht*. Happy, if I may do no Injustice by my Translation, to the elegant Pen of MONSIEUR FAGEL. (a)

The Matter being taken into Consideration, it is resolved

‘ To acquaint the most Serene REPUBLIC of VENICE, that their HIGH MIGHTINESSES will always have the highest Esteem for Her; that Her Intercession is

(a) This Gentleman is a present GREFFIER or Register to the STATES GENERAL whose great Abilities are too well known to want any Encomium here.

‘ of so great a Force with their HIGH
‘ MIGHTINESSES, that they would with
‘ Pleasure give her a Proof of It on this
‘ Occasion, but that they cannot do it with-
‘ out derogating from the *fundamental* and *in-*
‘ *violable Maxims* of their *Republic*. Which
‘ are, that in *Matters of Religion* and *eccle-*
‘ *siastical Discipline*, Men ought only to be
‘ governed by their *Perswasion*, without any
‘ the least *Constraint*, or *Violence* : That
‘ every One is free to believe in Point of
‘ Religion, That which he judges most proper
‘ to obtain the *Salvation* of his Soul, of which
‘ he will be obliged to render an Account to
‘ GOD, according to the *Lights* He has received.
‘ That their HIGH MIGHTINESSES judging
‘ the RELIGION which They profess, to be
‘ the best, and the most conformable to the
‘ WILL of GOD, of any that has been reveal-
‘ ed to MANKIND, They could wish that all
‘ their *Subjects* would conform to It; but
‘ that according to their *fundamental Maxims*
‘ They do not pretend to force any One
‘ on this Account; but on the contrary,
‘ They will leave to all Men the Liberty
‘ of professing that Religion which they
‘ believe in their *Consciences* to be the
‘ best, provided at the same Time, They
‘ behave Themselves as good and faithful
‘ *Subjects*, and do not undertake any Thing,
‘ either

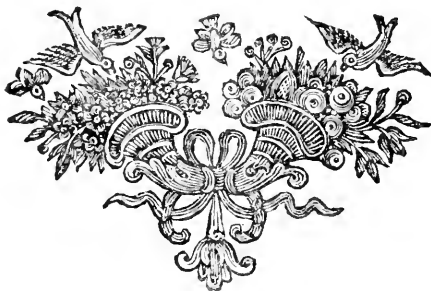
‘ either by Word or Action, that *may*
‘ wound the AUTHORITY of the GOVERN-
‘ MENT; be a Prejudice to CIVIL SOCIE-
‘ TY, good MANNERS, the public PEACE,
‘ or PRIVATE PROPERTY.

‘ That in conformity to this Way of
‘ Thinking, their HIGH MIGHTINESSES
‘ have and do still tolerate even the
‘ ROMAN CATHOLICKS, as well as other
‘ Sectaries in their Dominions, without
‘ concerning Themselves with their Particu-
‘ lar Opinions, in Relation to the different
‘ Degrees of Authority, which either one
‘ Side or the Other attribute to him,
‘ whom they equally own their Teacher,
‘ so long as the *public Peace* is not hurt.
‘ And that thus their HIGH MIGHTI-
‘ NESSES not having hitherto taken Cog-
‘ nifance of what may have passed with
‘ respect to the Election and Consecration of
‘ a *pretended* ARCH-BISHOP of UTRECHT,
‘ who They are informed is since Dead,
‘ They do not pretend to judge whether the
‘ Thing passed according to Order or not.
‘ That the Opinions of their *Roman Ca-*
‘ *tholick Subjects* being divided upon this
‘ Point, their HIGH MIGHTINESSES cannot
‘ make use of their own Power, nor permit
‘ the interposition of any foreign Authori-
‘ ty, to oblige either Side to abandon
‘ their

' their Sentiments, or perswade any Person
 ' to submit Himself with a blind *Obedience*
 ' to Him whom They call the SOVEREIGN
 ' PASTOR; but are on the Contrary
 ' obliged to *support equally both the one Party,*
 ' *and the Other, against all Oppression and Per-*
 ' *secution.*

' That the most serene DOGE of the REPUB-
 ' LIC of VENICE, will please to consider, in
 ' this great *Wisdom*, that their HIGH MIGH-
 ' TINESSES can never permit the COURT
 ' of ROME to exercise an *absolute Power* in
 ' their *Dominions*, which would even go far-
 ' ther than is practised in several *Kingdoms*
 ' and *Countries* where the *Roman Catholick*
 ' *Religion* is established by *Law*; and extend
 ' to deprive the *ancient SECULAR CLERGY*
 ' of those *Rights*, and *Priviledges* which
 ' they have enjoyed Time out of Mind,
 ' in Favour of foreign *Missionaries*. Which,
 ' when the MOST SERENE REPUBLIC, in
 ' Her great Equity, shall have considered,
 ' their HIGH MIGHTINESSES hope, that
 ' She will employ her good Offices to obvi-
 ' ate all violent Proceedings, and terminate
 ' the present Disputes by Methods of *Le-*
 ' *nity and Moderation*. That such a *Media-*
 ' *tion* being conformable to *Justice* and *Pru-*
 ' *dence*, will be very agreeable to their
 ' HIGH MIGHTINESSES; who on their Part,
 will

‘ will preserve the high Esteem and continue
‘ to entertain the good and sincere Friend-
‘ ship They have always had for the *most*
‘ *serene* REPUBLIC, than which, They will
‘ have Nothing more at Heart.

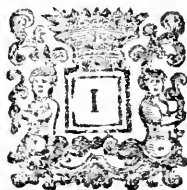


S E C T



SECT VII.
OF
WILLIAM I, MAURICE,
FREDERICK HENRY,
AND
WILLIAM II,
Princes of ORANGE.

And of the Office of *Stadtholder*
both in his Civil and Military Capacity.



Need not inform the Reader
that the Family of NASSAU is
amongst the most ancient of
the EMPIRE, and one of the
most illustrious in EUROPE.
The House of ORANGE, which
became extinct in our late KING WILLIAM,

was the eldest Branch of It ; fertile in a Race of *Princes*, who not at all indebted to the Grandeur of their Descent, have always reflected greater Lustre on their Family, than They derived from it. No Character has employed more Pens than That of WILLIAM I. PRINCE of ORANGE, but amongst all Those who have written any thing concerning this Prince, I have not met with one that seems to treat Him with Fairness and Impartiality except HUGO GROTIUS. They all allow the Greatness of his Capacity, and admit that such and such Things were done by Him ; but when they attempt to show us the true Springs and Motives of his Actions, or to ascertain the Ends to which they were directed, their Opinions are as various as their Countries. The *Spaniards*, who suffered by him, all concur to make Him the basest and most ungrateful Person that ever lived. The *French Historians* are divided. *Monsieur Du Maurier*, who was almost the only political Writer of the Reign of LEWIS XIV, whose Works retain any Spark of the antient *Gallick* Liberty, is not content to make Him the greatest Man of the Age he lived in, but equals Him with the most celebrated Heroes of Antiquity ; even with ALEXANDER and JULIUS CÆSAR, tho' He was neither *successful*

ful in War, nor Eloquent in the Senate.

(a)

But if Monsieur *Du Maurier* be too lavish of his Praise, He is much more excusable than Monsieur *Le Noble*, Attorney General to the Parliament of Metz, who laying aside all Respect, treats Him every where as a mere Incendiary, or Arch-Rebel, without making any Distinction between a Rebellion fomented and cherished thro' mere Ambition, and a necessary Resistance for the Defence of the natural Liberty and Right of the Subject.

NATURE, says *Le Noble*, *Had made Him extreamly proper for the Undertakings to which Fortune had designed Him. He was descended from a noble Family in Germany, and extreamly rich. His Disposition was supple and hypocritical, popu-*

(a) Il ne faut pas tant S'etonner des Conquetes d' ALEXANDER et de CÆSAR. Le Premier etoit maître de toute la Grece, et d' une Armee aguerrie : et l' Autre commandoit souverainement la moitié des Legions Romaines qui dominoient tout le monde. Avec ces Forces leurs premieres Victoires aiant ete l' Instrument des Suivantes, l' un detruisoit l' Empire des Perses et l' Autre la Republique Romaine. Mais la Vertu de ce Prince Guillaume n'est pas moindre que Celle de ces grands Conquerans, en Ce que sans aucunes Forces Il a eu le Courage d'attaquer la Puissance redoutable du Roi d' Espagne *Philippe II*, &c. Voyez. Memoires pour servir a l' Histoire d' *Hollande* par Monsieur *du Maurier*. p. 12.

lar

lar and insinuating; he was cunning and eloquent; bold in Council and prompt in Execution; most fertile in Expedients when his Affairs were in the greatest Disorder; Constant and vigilant in his bad Fortune; hot and presumptuous in his Good: He hoped all Things and feared Nothing: But with Respect to military Virtues, 'tis certain He never did a single Action that can rank Him amongst the Number of great Generals. He was a Slave to his Ambition, and had no other Religion than his Interest: He was born a Lutheran in Germany; feigned Himself a Roman Catholick in Flanders, that he might inherit his Mother's Estate, and at last died a Calvinist. (a)

(a) La nature L'avoit fait tres propre pour les Entreprizes auxquelles la Fortune le destinoit. Il avoit une Naissance considerable entre la Noblesse Allemande, & de tres grands Biens. C'etoit un Esprit souple & dissimule, populaire & insinuant, fin & Eloquent; hardi dans le Conseil, prompt dans l'Execution, trouvant aisement des expedients & des Ressources dans les Affaires les plus desesperees. Il estoit vigilant & constant dans la mauvaise Fortune; chaud & presumptueux dans la bonne; esperoit Tout, ne craignoit Rien, Mais quant au Vertues militaires, Il n'a jamais fait une seule action qui puisse le mettre au Rang des Grands Capitaines. Il estoit devore d'une Ambition demesuree & n'avoit d'autre Religion que Celle qui s'accommodoit a ses Interets. Il estoit ne Lutherien en Allemagne; Il feignit d'etre Catholique en Flandre pour y recueillir la Succession de sa mere & mourut enfin dans le Calvinisme. Voyez Histoire d'Hollande par Monsieur le Noble, Tom. 1. Pag. 28. Paris Edition.

Le Noble, dedicated his Book to LEWIS XIV, and it would have disoblged his Patron to have spoken well of the Great Grand-Father of WILLIAM III.

M. DE WIT, who wrote his *Memoires* with a View to persuade his Countrymen that the Interest of the *Princes* of *Orange* was incompatible with that of the *United Provinces*, yet could not help giving *William I* a very great Character; but the unhappy Prejudice he had contracted for the Family, induced him to accompany It with certain Insinuations, which tho' introduced with abundance of Art, reflect much greater Reproach upon their Author, than on the *Prince* They were designed to calumniate. (a)

(a) Il se trouve des Gens qui pretendent me contredire, & soutenir que malgre les Services de ces trois Princes, GUILLAUME I. etoit enlin aux femmes et au vin, a la maniere des allemands; qu 'Il avoit diminue son Bien considerablement par des Festins, et par l' Entretien d' une Cour magnifique; Ce que Lui avoit attire un grand Nombre de *partisans*; que S'etant trouve presse par l' Ambition et la Pauvrete Il avoit mesuse de toutes ses bonnes Qualites naturelles; tachant de se rendre le maitre des Pais-bas au Prejudice de son Souverain le Roi d' Espagne, dont Il etoit oblige de soutenir les Droits, comme lui aiant prete serment de Fidelite en Qualite de Stathouder, ou de se demetre deson Employ, et que pour parvenir a son But Il avoit ete' oblige necessairement d' exciter et d' augmenter les Troubles dans les Pais bas.

Voyez le Preface aux Memoires de Jean De wit p. xix. xx.

Upon

Upon the whole, it is evident enough, both from the Writings of Friends and Enemies, that he was a Person of a most shining and elevated *Genius*; indefatigable in the search of Knowledge, with a Memory so faithful as to retain every Thing He had once acquired; extreamly polite; modest; easy of Access; averse to many Words, but of so sweet a Conversation as to captivate the Hearts of all that approached Him; a great Master both of his Thoughts and Passions; never loosing Sight of that which He had once resolved, but pursuing it with a Constancy that was Proof against the most adverse Fortune. As to his *Ambition*, there is very good Reason to believe, It would have been confined to the *Regency* of the *Low Countries*; and had PHILIP II, thought fit to have left him in that Government, instead of the *Dutchess of Parma*, the *Republic* of the *United Provinces* had never been formed. But the Administration of WILLIAM I. could not quadrate with the Scheme of Government laid down by that *ambitious* and *over-politic Prince*. The *Ecclesiastical Tribunal*, and the *sanguinary Edicts* against those that separated from the *Church of Rome*, must have been suppressed; the *foreign Troops* recalled, and the *People* must have preserved their *Priviledges*,

M for

for he would never have lent his Hand to have made slaves of Subjects.

But Nothing can set this *Prince's* Character in so true a Light, as the Marks of Esteem, Confidence and Love, with which CHARLES V. thought fit to distinguish Him. That great *Emperor*, who knew Mankind perfectly well, did not only prefer his Opinion in political Affairs before any other, but made him *Generalissimo* of his Forces at so early an Age as two and Twenty ; and *Du Maurier* tells us, the Prince executed that Charge so well, that He built *Charlement* and *Philippeville*, in the Face of the *French Army*, commanded by the *Duke De Nevers*, and the *Admiral De Chatillon*, both famous for their Conduct and Bravery. (a) Which seems to prove that the *Prince's* Genius was equally proper both for the Field and the Cabinet ; and that the Event of a *Campaign* depends more on the Goodness of the *Souldiery* than the Skill of the *Leader*: since He, who at two and Twenty was successful against the most experienced Generals, when at the Head of the *Spanish Forces*, was afterwards defeated, almost upon every Occasion, by the same Troops,

(a) *Memoires, Du Maurier*: Page 6.

when obliged to oppose them with *new Levies*, tho' his own Knowledge in *War* was certainly improved.

We have already said, that the *Prince of Orange* was sent to *France* in 1559, as *Hostage* for the execution of the Peace of *Cambray*, where the Conformity of Genius soon established a perfect Friendship between Him, and the great *Admiral COLLIGNI*, which I cannot help thinking the most fortunate Incident of his Life. *Monsieur du Maurier* compares Them together, with a great deal of Justice, and instances several Circumstances of their Fortune, which bear the exactest Resemblance one to another. (a)

(a) Ils avoient tous Deux beaucoup de Conduite, de Sagesse, & de Moderation. Ils demeloient tous deux les Affaires les plus difficiles & les plus embrouillées. Ils ecoutoient l'un & l'autre plus qu' Ils ne parloient. Ils estoient per-suasifs & remplis de bons Conseils. Ils avoient tous deux le Cœur, l'Estime & la Veneration meme de Ceux de leur Patrie. Leur Courage estoit plus haut que leurs Adversités; leur Constance estoit admirable a les supporter; Ils ont ere souvent battus, & toujours ont trouve des Ressources glorieuses dans leurs malheurs. Ils ont tous deux eu en tete les deux plus puissans Rois de la Chretiente. Ils se sont servis tous deux, pour se maintenir, des secours d'Allemagne & d'Angleterre. Ils ont ere de mems Tems, & ont passe tous deux cinquante Ans. Ils ont soutenu tous deux la meme Religion: & L'ont etablie L'un en France, & l'Autre au Pais bas. Ils ont ere tous deux pros crits: & leurs Teres mises a Prix, &c. *Memoires du Maurier*, Page 170, & les Suivantes.

But *Le Noble* Endeavours with a great deal of Malice to fully the Friendship of these great Men. (a) The *Admiral Colligni*, says He, 'That Bulwark of *Heresy*, who had 'formed the prodigious Design of changing 'the *French Monarchy* into a *Republic*, or at 'least of establishing an *Aristocracy* in the 'very Heart of the Kingdom; this great *Captain*, who lost four Battles against his 'King, without being reduced, and who 'could not be destroyed but by being 'included in a general Ruin; this consummate *Politician* finding the *Prince of Orange* 'a fit Person to be the same Thing in 'Flanders that he was in *France*; that is to say, 'The *Fire-Brand* of his Country, had very 'little Trouble to infuse all his Poisons into 'Him, and inspire Him with a Resolution 'to foment those Divisions and Disorders, 'which *Heresy* had already sown in the *Low Countries*

The Reader will easily distinguish the *Chaff* from the *Grain*. When the *Prince of Orange* and *Admiral Colligni* had discovered that the the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, consulted on proper Methods to exterminate

(a) *Histoire de Hollande*, par le Noble. *Tom. 1.* Page 29. & *Suiv.*

the *Protestants*, (a) It was very natural for Them to unite their Councils for the Preservation of themselves, and their Adherents. *Colligni* was always a *Calvinist*, and the *Prince of Orange* was born a *Lutheran*, and educated in that Profession, 'till he was twelve Years old, when his Father sent him to the Court of *Charles V.* with a View to facilitate his Succession to the Possessions of the House of *Chalons*, to which He had been left sole Heir. It is not to be doubted therefore, that the Principles of his early Education were still warm upon his Heart, or rather, that he was still a *Protestant*; but we must not conclude from thence, that he would have kindled a *Rebellion* in the *Netherlands*, merely to have introduc'd a Change in Religion: Neither indeed, was the War undertaken for the sake of *Religion*, so much as in Defence of the common Rights and Liberty of the Subject. (b)

I do not undertake to write the History of *William I.* which is comprised in the *Annals* of *Grotius*, and in the Writings of several others, tho' not with the same Justice and Impartiality. *Du Maurier* has given us an Epitome of his Life that contains

(a) See Page 15.

(b) Page 21.

several curious Particularities; but as the generality of Persons understand *French*, it will not become me to recapitulate what may be found to better Advantage in his *Memoires*. I cannot finish my Account of this *Prince* however, without giving the Reader an Extract of the Charge and Proscription published against Him by *Philip II.* and his Answer. In this Writing the King reproaches Him with the Favours He had received from his Father *CHARLES V.* particularly, that under his Patronage, He had succeeded to *Rene de Nassau, & de Chalon, Prince of Orange*. That the King himself had made him Governor of *Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Burgundy, Knight of the Golden Fleece, and Privy Councillor*. That being a *Stranger*, He had loaded him with Benefits and Honours, which he repaid with *Ingratitude*. That he had instigated the *Nobility* to petition against the Establishment of the *Inquisition*. That He had introduced *Heresy* into the *Low Countries*, and invaded the *Roman Catholick Religion* by breaking the *Images* and demolishing the *Altars*. That He had made *War* against his *Leige Lord*. That He had opposed all Accomodations, even the *Pacification of Ghent*, and that He had broke the *perpetual Edict*.

Lastly,

Lastly He declares Him *ungrateful*, a *Rebel*, a *Disturber* of the *public Peace*, a *Heretick* and a *Hypocrite* : that He looked upon Him as a *Cain*, a *Judas* ; as one whose *Conscience* was *seared* ; as a *wicked*, *perjured* and an *impious Wretch* who had Children by a *Nun*, whom He had inveigled from her *Cloyster* to marry Him ; as the *Author* of the *Troubles* in the *Low Countries* ; as the *Plague* of *Christendom*, and the *Enemy* of *Human Kind*. That for these Reasons He *outlawed* Him ; giving his *Estate*, his *Body*, and his *Life* to those who could take them. That in order to deliver the *World* from his *Tyranny*, He promised on the Word of a *KING*, and as a *Servant* of *GOD*, *twenty five thousand Crowns* to any one that could take Him either *alive* or *dead*, with *Impunity* for whatever *Crimes* He might have committed before, and to *ennoble* Him in Case He was not already a *Gentleman*. And further He declares all the *Prince's Adherents* to have forfeited their *Nobility*, *Honours* and *Estates*, if in a *Month* after the *Publication* of this *Proscription* they did not separate themselves from Him, and return to their *Obedience*.

In Answer to this cruel *Proscription* which came out in *June 1580*, the *Prince* published a long *Apology* in *December* following, wrote with a great deal of *Spirit* and *Eloquence*.

In this Piece, after having submitted the Examination of his Life and Actions to the *States General*, He declares, that He found Himself obliged against his natural Inclination and Custom, to discover *several Enormities* which He had much rather have concealed; and that if He had not found Himself loaded with Calumnies and Injuries, He would have contented Himself, simply to have answered the *Proscription*, and have proved It unjust. That his *Enemy* who drew it, and the *Prince of Parma* who published it, not having been able to make an End of Him either by the *Sword* or *Poison*; were now endeavouring to destroy his Reputation by their malicious Scandal.

With Respect to the *Benefits* with which He was reproached, He acknowledges to have received a great Deal of Honour from the *Emperor Charles V*, at whose Elbow He had constantly been for nine Years together; but that He found Himself obliged to say in Justification of his own Innocence, He never had received any *Benefit* from that *Prince*, but on the contrary had suffered very great Losses in his Service

That He could not deprive him of the Succession of *Rene de Nassau et de Chalon*, *Prince of Orange*, whose *Cousin German* and *Sole Heir* he was, without a manifest Injustice ;

stice; and that therefore this was no *Favour*, unless It may be termed *Liberality* to forbear taking away that which belongs to another.

That far from having conferred any *Benefits* upon Him, the *Emperor* on the contrary, for the Good of his Affairs, being pressed on one Side by the *Protestant Princes* of *Germany*, and by the *King of France* on the other, had, in Prejudice to Him, given away by the Treaty of *Passau*, the *Earldom of Catzenellebogen* to the *Landgrave of Hesse*, tho' It had been adjudged to Him by the *Imperial Chamber of Spire*, with above two *Millions* of *Rents in Arrear*: And that the same *Emperor* had not performed his Promise of putting his *Cousin German, Rene de Nassau*, in Possession of the third Part of the *Dutchy of Juliers*, which belonged to Him in Right of their Grandmother, *Margaret Countess de la Mark*, tho' his *Imperial Majesty* was indebted for his Success, to the Valour of that *Prince*.

That *PHILIP II*, had deprived him of the *Lordship of Chatelbelin*, when it was above three hundred and fifty thousand *Livres in Arrears to Him*; having most unjustly remitted the Decision of the Cause to his own *Council*, at the very Time when it was upon the Point of being determined by the *Parliament of Malines*, upon which
He

He leaves the World to judge whether the *King* or *He* ought to be taxed with Ingratitude.

That He had expended above *five hundred Thousand Crowns* in his *Embassy* to the *Emperor Ferdinand*, and when He was *Hostage* in *France* for the Execution of the *Peace of Cambray*; both of which Employments He had engaged in against his own Inclination; and that during the *Campagne* in which he commanded the whole *Imperial Army*, and had built *Charlemont* and *Philippeville* in the Face of the *French Generals*, He had never received more than *three hundred Livres per Month*, which was not enough to pay those that were employed to spread his Tents.

That it had been customary with his *Predecessors*, to spend large Sums, and expose their Lives very freely for the Service of the *House of Austria*. That his Great Grand-Father *Engilbert II Count of Nassau*, being Governor of the *Low Countries* for the *Emperor Maximilian I*, had secured those Provinces to Him by the Gain of a Battle.

That his Uncle *Count Henry of Nassau*, had persuaded the *Electors* of the *Empire*, to prefer the Grandson of *Maximilian*, CHARLES of AUSTRIA, to *Francis I*, *King of France*, and had put the *Imperial Crown* upon his Head.

That

That *Philibert de Chalon, Prince of Orange*, had conquered *Lombardy*, with the Kingdom of *Naples* for the *Emperor*; and by taking *Rome* and *Pope Clement VII* his Enemy, He had crowned Him with Glory and Grandeur.

That the Nephew of this *Philibert, Rene de Nassau, et de Chalon*, his Cousin German, expired at the *Emperor's* Feet, then at *St. Disier*, after having repaired the Loss of a Battle by the Conquest of *Gelderland*: And that upon the whole, if those of the *House of Nassau* had never appeared in the World, or, if the *Princes of Orange* had not performed so many considerable Exploits, His Majesty would not have carried so many different Titles at the Head of that infamous Proscription which declares Him a Traytor, and loads Him with the Imputation of Crimes, to which those of his Family have always been Strangers.

That in Requital of such signal Services, and so great an Expence, there was not one single Instance to be given of Gratitude in the *Austrian Family* towards the *Princes of Orange*.

That the *Kings of Hungary* gave his Predecessors several Peices of Cannon for indelible Proofs of their Valour in defending them against the *Infidels*, which had been carried off from

from his Castle of *Breda*, when the *Duke of Alva* tyrannised over the *Low Countries*.

To his *Majesty's* Reproach of having made him *Governor of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht and Burgundy*; Knight of the *Golden Fleece*, and *Privy Councillor*; He replies, that if He owes any *Obligation* on these *Accounts*, It must be to the *Emperor Charles V*, who had ordered it thus, in *Consideration* of his *Services*, before his *Departure for Spain*. That the *KING* Himself had forfeited the *Order*, by the *Violation* of its *Statutes*, which provide that the *Knights* shall only be tryed by their *Companions*; whereas his *Majesty* had executed the *EARLS of EGDMONT and HORN, BERGUES and MONTIGNI*, upon a *Verdict* given against Them, by a Set of contemptible *Wretches*, contrary to the *Oath* he had taken as *Knight of the golden Fleece*. That as to the *Government of Burgundy*, It was his by *hereditary Right*, the *PRINCES of CHALON* having always enjoyed it without *Competition* or *Interruption*: And for his Post of *Privy Counsellor*, He stood indebted for that to the *Intrigues and Policy of Cardinal Granvelle*, who hoped by that Means to screen Himself and his ill *Administration*, under the *Prince's Name and Authority*, in whom the *People* placed an extream *Confidence*.

To the *Kings* Charge of his having drawn a *Nun* from her Cloyster and married Her ; The *Prince* replies, that this is a popular Objection thrown out on purpose to render Him odious to the People: That he who takes upon him to accuse another, ought to be innocent of all Blame ; but that it was an *Impudence* in the KING who was himself covered with Crimes, to reproach him with a Marriage solemnized according to the Laws of GOD. That when he espoused the INFANTA of PORTUGAL, he was at the same time married to *Donna Isabella Osorio*, by whom he had three Children: that he had murdered his own SON for having spoken in Favour of the *Netherlands* ; and poisoned his third Wife Madam ISABELLA, Daughter of HENRY III, KING of FRANCE ; in whose Life-time he had publicly kept *Donna Eufratia*, whom he forced the *Prince* of *Ascoli* to marry when she was with Child by himself, that his natural Child might inherit that *Lord's Estate*, who died for Grief of this Treatment, unless it were, says the *Prince*, that he had taken down a *Morsel* easier to swallow than digest.

That since this Time *Philip II*, had not been ashamed to commit *Incest* publicly, by marrying his *Neice*, Daughter to his own *Sister* by the *Emperor Maximilian*. And if his
Majesty

Majesty pleads a Dispensation for this ; It must be then from the *God of the Earth*, replies the *Prince*, for certainly the *God of Heaven* would never have permitted it.

That it was as strange as insupportable that one blackned with *Adulteries, Poisonings, Incests and Parricides*, should object his Marriage to him as a Crime, which had been approved by his Father in Law *Monsieur de Montpensier*, a more perfect *Catholick* in Reality than the *Spaniards* were in Grimace. That tho' his *Princess* had entered into Vows in her *Nonage*, which in the Opinion of the greatest Men was contrary to the *Cannons* and *Rites* of the *Church*, and tho' there had been no Protests on that Occasion, yet he was not so ill a *Divine* as to be ignorant that all human Compacts, framed and entered into merely on a Principle of self-Interest, are in Themselves void and null in the Sight of *God*.

To the *King's* Objection that he was a *Stranger*, the *Prince* answers, that his *Ancestors* have for several Ages been in Possession of different Earldoms and Baronies in *Luxemburgh, Brabant, Holland* and *Flanders*: and that those are always considered as *Natives* of a Country, who have Estates in it.

That

That his *Majesty* then was a *Stranger* rather than Himself, being born in *Spain*, a Kingdom always at Enmity with the *Netherlands*; whereas the *Prince* was of *Germany* a Country in the Neighbourhood of the *Provinces*, and always in Friendship with Them. But, adds the *Prince*, It will be said that He is KING, and let Him be such in *Castile*, *Aragon*, and *Naples*, in the *Indies*, and in *Jerusalem*; and Lord of *Asia* and *Africa*, if he pleases; but for me, I can only acknowledge him in the Quality of *Duke* and *Earl*, whose Power is limited by the Privileges of the Country, which he has sworn to observe. And let his *Majesty* and the *Spaniards* be informed, if They are yet ignorant of It, that the *Barons* of *Bra-bant* have often made their *Princes* feel their Power, when They have attempted to extend their Authority beyond its Lawful and Natural Limits. The *Prince* ends this *Section* of his *Manifesto*, by observing, that it was with a very ill Grace, the *King* termed Him a *Stranger* in the *Netherlands*, considering that his Ancestors were *Dukes* of *Gelderland*, and possessed very great Estates in that Country, whilest his *Majesty's* Predecessors were only *Counts* of *Hurpsburg*, living obscurely in *Switzerland*, and unknown to the World.

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The *Prince* affirms, That It had always been the Aim of the *Spaniards* to subject the *Provinces* of the *Low Countries*, and govern Them tyrannically, as They do in the *Indies*, and in *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Milan*. Which being very well known to the EMPEROR CHARLES V, he had told his Son PHILIP in the Presence of the *Prince* of *Orange*, the old *Count de Boffut*, and several others; That unless he suppressed that Pride of the *Spaniards*, it would one Day prove the entire Ruin of the *Provinces*. But that neither the Paternal Authority, the Prosperity of His People; neither Justice, nor the Sanction of his Oath; Considerations that bind the most barbarous Nations, were of Force sufficient to restrain the Violence of his Passions, or his Desire to Govern them in an arbitrary and tyrannical Manner.

That the *States* of the *Netherlands* having voted the *King* a considerable Supply of Money, by the Help of which, joyned to the Courage of the *Nobility*, He had won two considerable Battles, which enabled Him to make the Peace of *Cambray*, equally profitable for Himself as disadvantageous for his Enemies; his *Majesty* could not deny, in Point of Gratitude, that the *Prince* had been a principal Instrument in making
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that Peace, having treated it privately ; with the *Constable de Montmorency*, and the *Marshal de St. Andre* ; after his *Majesty* had given Him his Orders to that Purpose, and assured Him that He could never do Him a more important or a more acceptable Service ; being resolved to go into *Spain* at all Events.

But these Successes says the *Prince*, obtained by the Blood of the *Nobility*, and Supplies advanced by the *Commons*, instead of engaging his *Majesty's* Benevolence, were considered as so many Treasons against him ; because the Money was voted on Condition that the *States General* should assemble, and that It should pass through the Hands of *provincial Commissaries*, in Prejudice to *BARLAIMONT* and other *State Harpies* ; which two Restrictions the *Prince* affirms to have been the mighty Crimes that inspired the *King* and the *Spaniards* with their implacable Hatred for the *Flemmings*.

Here he extends his Reflections, and says, that the Assembly of the *States General* having been a certain Check to the growing *Tyranny* of ill *Princes*, was the constant Object of their Hatred ; but that on the Contrary, She had ever been happy in the Love and Veneration of such as were the real Fathers of their Country, who

considered Her as the truest and best Support both of their own and the Subjects Happiness. The second Point that gave Umbrage to the *Spaniards*, was that of demanding *provincial Commissaries* for the Administration of the Revenue; and the *Prince* says, He had known *Ministers* take more Pleasure in the Money they plundered from the Public than in the Income of their own Estates; who to prevent a Scrutiny into their Conduct, would never fail to exasperate the *Prince against* his People, and employ a thousand Arts to keep Them astunder, that They might continue to rob with Impunity. He concludes, with assuring the *States General*, to whom he more immediately addresses his *Apology*, that He had been present in Debates and Councils, when the *Spaniards* had devoted Them all to a general *Massacre*, agreeable to their Practice in the *Indies*, where, He says, They have cut off and exterminated thirty Times as many People as were contained in the *Netherlands*.

To the *King's* Charge of his having formed Intrigues to acquire the Hearts and Affections of Those that were fond of Novelties, especially such as inclined to new Persuasions in *Religion*; and to have been the Author of the *Petition* against the *Inquisition*: He confesses ingenuously always
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to have been of the *reformed Religion* in his Heart ; his Father, *Count William* of *Nassau*, having introduced It into his Territories. He affirms to have had It from the Mouth of *HENRY II*, when Hostage at his Court, That the *Duke* of *Alva* was then concerting a Method for exterminating the *Protestants*, not only in *France*, and the *Low Countries*, but throughout *Christendom* in general. That for this Purpose they had determined to set up the pitiless *Inquisition* in the *Netherlands*, whose Severity was such, that the least Contempt of an Image was Cause sufficient to devote a Man to the Flames ; and therefore not being able to suffer the Destruction of so many innocent Persons, He had taken a Resolution to exterminate the *Spaniards* ; and that had he been well seconded in so just and generous an Undertaking, there would by this Time have remained nothing of Them in the *Netherlands*, but their Bones and Sepulchres.

That for the Petition against the *Inquisition*, objected to him as a Crime, He esteemed it his very great Honour to have advised it, as the only Means to prevent those infinite Mischiefs, which afterwards afflicted his Country. And for the Religious Assemblies of the *Reformed*, he still advised the *DUTCHESS* of *PARMA* to permit Them, Things being in such

a Condition that they could not be suppressed without manifest Hazard of a general Subversion

The *Prince* complains that the *Spaniards*, after doing their Worst, both against his Person and Estate, had made his Eldest Son a Prisoner, and carried him into *Spain*, in open Violation of the Priviledges of the University of *Louvain* and the Country of *Brabant*: affirming that so rigorous and unjust a Treatment absolved him from his Oath, and authorised him to make *War* upon his Enemy; there being a reciprocal Obligation or Compact between the *Dukes* of *Brabant* and their *Vassals*: That the Subjects owe their Obedience to the *Prince*, who is on his Part obliged to maintain their Liberties; the principal of which are that he shall not change the *Constitution* of the Country by any particular *Ordinance*; that he shall content himself with the ordinary *Revenue*, and lay no fresh Impositions on the People without Consent of the *States*. That he shall not raise *Forces*, or alter the *Value* of *Money* without the same Concurrence; nor make any Person a *Prisoner*, or send him out of the Country, without the Knowledge and Interposition of the proper *Magistrate*. That agreeable to this, the *Lords* of *Brabant*, are entrusted by the *Constitution*, with the *Militia* of the *Province*,

vince, and are obliged to protect and defend its Priviledges ; which when they neglect to do, They ought to be considered as perjured Wretches and the Enemies of their Country ; that the *King* had not only violated one, but all of these *Priviledges* upon numberless Occasions ; having in Defiance of all Right, rob'd him of his *Estate*, his *Dignities* and his *Son*, in Consequence of which His Highness was entirely disengaged from his *Oath*, and at Liberty to do himself Justice by *Arms* ; especially as the *King* shewed no Disposition to repair his Faults, but had despised and rejected the Interposition of the EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN, as well as the Supplications of his Subjects, and executed their *Deputies* against the *Law of Nations*.

To the *King's* Charge of his having formed the UNION of UTRECHT which is made his greatest Crime ; He observes that every thing that is salutary or expedient for the *States*, is disagreeable to the *Spaniards*, resolved upon Tyranny and Oppression. The *Prince* owns himself the Author of that Treaty, hopes to be recognised as such thro' all *Europe*, and exhorts the *States* to the strictest Concord for the Preservation of their Liberties.

When the KING alledges the POPE's Dispensation of his Oath, the *Prince* reminds his *Majesty*, that the Obligations of Obedience

and Protection being reciprocal between him and his Subjects, must become void at the same Time. He says, the *Duke of Alva* was upon the Point of hanging the principal Persons in *Brussels*, for opposing the exorbitant Tax of the Tenth Penny ; that he had actually given Orders to prepare *seventeen* Cords ; that the *Dictum* of the Sentence was written ; and that the *Spanish Guards* were upon the Point of taking Arms to maintain the Execution, when the happy News of the taking of the *BRILL* arrived and saved Them from the *Gibbet*. The *Prince* adds, that as *HANNIBAL* had sworn the Destruction of *Rome* upon the Altar of his Gods, so the *Duke of Alva* had devoted Himself to the Ruin of the *Low Countries*, as was very apparent from his Cruelties ; and that if the *Master* might be known by his *Servant*, the *King's* Design, and natural Inclinations were sufficiently denoted by the *Tyranny* of that merciless Minister.

These are the principal Heads of the *Prince's Manifesto*, which I thought my self obliged to insert for the Satisfaction of the Reader. They serve to illustrate his Highness's Character, and shew Us upon what Grounds he undertook the Defence of the *Netherlands*, and the Establishment of the *Republic* of the *United Provinces* against *Philip II.* The *Prince* would very willingly have engaged the *States*

to have printed his Declaration in their Name ; but some of the Provinces declined This both as they thought the *Manifesto* too severe, and because they had not a particular Knowledge of the Crimes laid to the *King's* Charge : so They contented themselves with publishing a *Placart*, in which They declared the *Prince* falsely accused ; that He had accepted the Government of the *Provinces* at their earnest Request ; offering Him a Guard of Horse for the Safety of his Person, and begging Him to continue his Care for the Protection of their *Liberties* ; promising Him an exact Obedience, and the utmost Deference for his Orders and Councils, which they acknowledged to be directed to no other End than their Preservation.

This was the true and genuine Sense not only of the *States General*, but of the whole People of the *Seven Provinces*, after which, We cannot wonder if the *Prince's* Death was universally regretted. He was assassinated at *Delft* on the 8th of *July*, 1584, in the fifty second Year of his Age, by One *Balthazar de Gerrard*, a Native of *Villefans* in *Burgundy*. The Murderer introduced himself into the *Prince's* Family by means of certain Passports, signed in Blank, by *Count Mansfelt*, Governor of *Luxemburg*,

which the *Prince* intended to make Use of for his own *Couriers*, and by that Means manage a Design upon the Towns of that *Province*. With this View he entertained *Balthazar* in his Service, and finding Him an intelligent Person, the *Prince* dispatched him into *France* upon some private Negotiations, from whence he had returned Post, with the News of the *Duke of ALENCON's* Death; and *Le Noble* informs us, that being brought to the *Prince's* Bed-side, to give Him the Particulars of that Accident, He would then have executed his Design, had He been provided with his Dagger. But some Days afterwards, the *Prince* having ordered Him to take another Journey, *Balthazar* attended at the Head of the Stair-Case, under Pretence of receiving his last Orders as his *Highness* came from Dinner, and having presented his Passport, whilst the *Prince* waited for Pen and Ink to Sign It, the Villain shot Him into the Breast with three Bullets; upon which He fell, and had scarce Time to invoke the Mercy of GOD before He expired.

The *Assassin* had taken all imaginable Precautions for making his Escape; and in the extreme Confusion that followed his Blow, He had made off to the Town Ditch

Ditch, but was taken as He prepared to Swim over It. He was no more than seven and Twenty, or as others say, two and twenty Years old; with a Resolution that deserved a better Cause. No Tortures could make Him confess who had engaged Him to commit so horrid an Action; yet tho' He died without owning any Thing, except, that were It undone, He would do It again; It is not to be doubted, either that he was immediately instigated by the *Spaniards*, or tempted by the Reward promised in the *Prescription*

Never was there so sincere or so universal a Mourning, as for WILLIAM I. The People had lost their *Father*, and the *Commonwealth* its Founder and Support. The STATES GENERAL were inconsolable and in the utmost Consternation. Some proposed laying hold of the general *Amnesty* offered by the *King of Spain*, and so to return into their Obedience to that *Crown*. But OLDEN BARNEVELDT, who had been very much in the Confidence of *William I.*, and had served Him in the latter Part of his Life, with great Capacity and Integrity, opposed this with a bundance of Vigour, and equal Success. He represented to Them that their Affairs were not in so desperate a Condition.

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That indeed the *Republic* had lost Her chief Support in the Person of *William I*, but that he had left behind Him a Son, then a *Student* at *Leyden*, who by the strong and early Indications he gave of a *noble Mind*, and a *virtuous Disposition*, appeared capable of supplying his Father's Place.

This was *PRINCE MAURICE*, whose Character and Actions we are now about to consider.

He was Son of *WILLIAM I*, by his second Wife, *ANNE* of *SAXONY*, Daughter to the *ELECTOR* of that Name so famous for his Opposition of *CHARLES V*. *MAURICE* was but Eighteen at his Father's Death; an Age extremely unequal to the Cares of *War* and Government, but the Authority and Persuasion of *Monsieur de Barneveldt* were superiour to every Obstacle, and accordingly the *Provinces* of *Holland* and *Zealand* immediately declared the *Prince* their Governor, tho' indeed, he did not fully enjoy that Dignity, 'till some Years afterwards: For the *States General*, who could not hope to support Themselves without foreign Assistance, first offered the *Sovereignty* of their Country to *HENRY III*, KING of *FRANCE*; who being pressed and harrassed by the *GUISES* at the Head of the *LEAGUE*, assisted by the Courts of *Madrid* and *Rome*, was in no Condition

dition to accept It; Upon which They made the same Offer to QUEEN ELIZABETH, who refused it in her Turn, but entered into a Treaty by which she obliged herself to send them the EARL of LEICESTER to be their *Governour* and *Captain General* and to supply them with five thousand *Foot*, and one thousand *Horse*, the Charge of which the *States* were to repay to *England*, when they should be settled in Peace; and in the mean time her *Majesty* was to have *Flushing*, *Rammekins* and the *Brill*, delivered to her as Securities for the Re-imbursment of the Money. The EARL arrived with the *English* Forces at *Flushing*, in *December* 1585, and after having taken Possession of the cautionary Towns, went to the *Hague* in *February* following, where he was received with all outward Demonstrations of Joy, proclaimed *Governour* and *Captain General* of the *States*, and invested with all the Authority of the *Stadtholdership*. It would be the Business of a general *Historian* to describe the Conduct and Actions of this *Lord*, during his Administration in the *United Provinces*; but this is neither consistent with my present Design, nor would the Task be agreeable. An *Englishman* could not have more Pleasure in tracing the Marks of *Queen Elizabeth's* Glory,

ry, than Resentment for the weak Conduct of her *Favourite*; which was the more to be apprehended by the *Republic*, as the great and successful DUKE of PARMA had now succeeded to the Government of the *Low Countries*, who by knowing how to temper Clemency with Rigour, bid much fairer than any of his Predecessors, to recover the *Seven Provinces* to the *Spanish Obedience*. But the *Earl of Leicester* having renounced his Authority, It was soon apparent, that whatever had been wanting in him, or whatever the Public had lost in *William I*, was sufficiently made up in young *Prince Maurice*, who was hardly past his *Childhood*, when he revived the Fortune of the *Commonwealth*, and taught his Countrymen the Way to Glory and Victory. He reduced the *Spaniard*, and revenged his *Father*.

No sooner was he invested with the Command of the *Army*, than he began to invent new *Exercises* for the *Souldiers*; new *Machines* and *Engines* for the *War*; and to reform the relaxed Discipline of the *Troops*. GROTIUS tells Us, It was admirable to see to Young a Man, become at once a great *Captain*, and an Instructor of others in the *Military Arts*, who Himself had
never

never had a Master. (a) His Endeavours were ridiculed in the Beginning, by Those who were ashamed to learn what they did not understand; but after the Success of some Experiments, their Contempt was turned into Admiration, and the World was obliged to confess, that as no Man excelled *William I*, in the Arts of Government; in acquiring the Affections of the *People*, and laying the Foundation of a *Commonwealth*; so no Man was so proper as *Prince Maurice* to extend and defend It. Fortune was so constant to Him, that in the Course of twenty Years, he took thirty eight or forty Towns, a greater Number of Forts, and beat the *Spaniards* in three pitched Battles. Happy had It been if the Glory he acquired by *Arms*, had not been sullied by his *Ambition*. But This unhappily made Him resolve the *Ruin* of MONSIEUR DE BARNEVELDT who had been one of his *Father's* most intimate Confidants, and the only Means of his own Support in the Time of the EARL of LIECESTER. The *Prince* had for a long Time loved and revered this wise Mini-

(a) See the Annals of *Grotius*, Lib. V.

ster, as his Benefactor and second Father; but when *Monsieur De Barneveldt* appeared in Favour of the Truce proposed between the ARCH-DUKE and the UNITED PROVINCES, the *Prince*, who considered the Cessation of the *War*, as the End of his own Glory and Authority, could not help shewing his Resentment to Him upon all Occasions; and *Monsieur Du Maurier*, tells Us, he forgot himself so far, as to give the good old Man the *Lie*, and even to strike Him at a public Conference. (a) The *Prince* of Orange employed every Argument to perswade HENRY IV, to abandon those that proposed the *Truce*, as a Thing entirely contrary to the Interest of his Kingdom, because the *Spaniards* being easy on the Side of the *United Provinces*, would be at Liberty to turn their whole Force against *France*: and in *Holland* a Multitude of Pamphlets were published, accusing *Barneveldt* and his Party of Treason, and Intelligence with the *Spaniard*. But this Minister represented to HENRY IV, by his *Embassadors*, that the *Commonwealth* was so drained by an Expensive *War* of Forty Years,

(a) *Memoires Du Maurier*. Page 293.

that it was impossible to support the Charge of it any longer, without very great Assistance from Abroad. That the *State* was loaded with excessive Debts, the Interest of which, must be regularly paid to Those who had lent their Estates to the *Public*, the greatest Part of whom, had no other Revenues. That the Taxes already settled for the Maintenance of the *War*, were not sufficient to continue It; yet if his *Majesty* would please to furnish Them with the necessary Supplies, They would still go on with greater Courage than ever. But the KING, whose Coffers were likewise exhausted, thought it more eligible to concur in the pacifick Measures that were proposed, rather than continue the *War* at the Expence of *four Millions* a Year, which He would have been obliged to have furnished Them; and accordingly the Truce took Place under the Influence of his Authority, notwithstanding the continual Opposition of *Prince Maurice* and his Dependants.

From this Time the *Prince* laid hold upon every Occasion to ruin *Monsieur De Barneveldt*, whose Council HENRY IV, had followed, preferably to his Advice and Interest. Yet before he would come to an Extremity, He endeavoured to make that great Man his own, by the Inter-

Interposition of his Mother in Law the *Princess Dowager of Orange*; but this not taking place, he set about to revenge Himself by all the Methods in his Power; raising *Monsieur De Barneveldt* a thousand Enemies whom He flattered with the Hopes of making their own Fortunes upon the Ruins of that *Minister*.

But notwithstanding the ready Disposition of *Prince Maurice*, there was yet no apparent Guilt in *Monsieur De Barneveldt* or his Adherents; and consequently they could not be proceeded against with any Colour of Justice, But for This, *Religion* soon furnished a specious Pretext.

The Disciples of GOMAR and ARMINIUS had divided the Sentiments and Affections of the People upon different Points of Doctrine, The *Gomarists* maintained, agreeable to the Opinion of *Calvin*, that GOD by an eternal Decree, had ordained who should be saved and who should be damned; and that this necessarily influenced and drew Part of Mankind into the Way of Piety and Salvation, whilst the Rest remained buried and sunk in the Multitude of Vices common to humane Nature.

The *Arminians* said on the contrary that GOD who was a just Judge, and a most indulgent Father, made this Difference between

tween Sinners, that such who repented of their Faults should obtain Mercy and Life everlasting, whilst those that remained impenitent and obstinate should be punished. That GOD wished all Men to enter into the Way of Salvation, and had given them excellent Precepts to that Purpose; but that neither religious Men nor Sinners were compelled by any Necessity; and that the Fate of every one depended on his own free Will.

These Opinions divided the *State*, and were very warmly contested. 'Twas frequent to hear Doctrines condemned in the Afternoon from the same Pulpit where they had been taught and recommended in the Morning. Sometimes the People had come to blows in Defence of their Preachers. *Murders* had been committed, and Tumults were grown frequent in all the great Towns of the Provinces.

The STATES GENERAL had met several Times in order to redress these Disorders; and amongst the several Expedients proposed in their Assembly, *Monsieur De Barneveldt* was of Opinion, that the *Professors* of *Divinity*, and *Ministers* should be forbid to make any Mention of the Points of *Grace* or *Predestination*, either in the Universities or Churches; and that in the same manner

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all *Printers* should be restrained from publishing Books relating to either of those Doctrines. He said that Men ought mutually to bear with each other, and not separate themselves, and form different Assemblies and Communions to the Scandal of the *Church*. That these Doctrines were in themselves so *subtile*, and so much above the Reach and Understanding of the People, that the Country would not fail to recover its usual Tranquility as soon as the Disputes concerning them should be silenced. That there would still remain a very ample Field to the *Ministers*, either for the Consolation or Instruction of their Hearers, by exhorting them to practice the Commandments of GOD, and the Virtues of *Christianity*; and by explaining the *Text* of the *Old* and *New Testament*, which had no other Tendency than to inspire Mankind with Sentiments of *Peace* and *Charity*. Lastly *He added*, that the Doctrine of *Predestination* was so very obscure and difficult that the greatest *Divines* were lost in it.

But *Prince Maurice*, and those of his Faction, who were glad of the least Pretence to ruin *Monfieur De Barneveldt*, opposed his Sentiments with a great deal of Warmth, and took this Occasion to enforce their former Insinuations, that he held a Correspondence
with

with the *Spaniards*, and had a mind to introduce the *Roman Catholick Religion*, which was alone capable of destroying the *Republic*. Pamphlets were published, charging Him plainly with being a *Pensioner to Spain*, and of having formed the detestable Design of reducing his Country to its former Slavery.

Monsieur De Barneveldt on his Part, published a long *Apology*, in which he answered the Calumnies thrown upon Him, by representing the many Services He had performed for the Public. But the other Party made the *Majority*, and were supported by *Prince Maurice*, who had the Army at his Disposal, and was adored by the Multitude, who could not be induced to believe He intended Them any Injury, after having taken infinite Pains for a long Series of Years, and run the most imminent Hazards for their Safety and Defence.

In vain did *Monsieur De Barneveldt* complain to his *natural and only Sovereigns* the STATES of HOLLAND and WEST FRIZEAND; and in vain did *These* take Him under their Protection. The *Prince* was deaf to Privileges that opposed his Designs, and resolved to make his own Power, which he cunningly masqued under the Name of the *States general*, superior to that of the particular Provinces.

Agreeable to This, *Monsieur De Barneveldt* was arrested by an extraordinary Order in the Name of the *States General*, Signed only by eight Members of that Assembly, all of them Dependants and Creatures of *Prince Maurice*. Three of his Friends were seized at the same Time, and committed to different Prisons; *MONSIEUR HOGERBEIS Pensionary of Leyden*, a Man of known Capacity and Integrity; *MONSIEUR LEYDENBERG Secretary to the Provincial States of Utrecht*, and the great *HUGO GROTIUS Pensionary of Rotterdam*. They were accused of enormous Crimes against the *State*, and amongst the Rest, of having formed a Design to plunge the Country in Blood, and deliver It up to the *Spaniard*. This heavy Charge was posted up at every Corner, in order to render them odious to the People; But their real Crime was that of having opposed the ambitious Designs of *Prince Maurice*, who a little before their Detention, had entirely broke thro' the Constitution of the *Republic*, by arbitrarily changing the Magistrates of several Places in *Holland*, as well as in the *City of Utrecht*, where He likewise disbanded the Garrison newly raised and maintained by that *Town*, agreeable to her Priviledges. This he did in the Name of the *States general* as Conservators of the *Republic*,

lic, which was no more than a Veil artfully drawn, to hide the Truth of his Designs from the *Populace* at Home, and the *Neighbouring Princes* abroad; who being ignorant of the Constitution, might fallily imagine the Sovereignty of the *Seven Provinces* to be lodged in that Assembly.

Whilst the above-mentioned Gentlemen were in Prison, the *Prince* and his Party convened a *General SYNOD* at DORT, which they termed *national*, as if the *Seven Provinces* made but one People, in Prejudice to their distinct Liberties, which reserve to each of them the Right of regulating Religion within their respective Districts.

This Assembly to outward Appearance was extremely solemn. Besides the Members of the several Provinces, It consisted of Deputies from our KING JAMES I, from the ELECTOR PALATINE, the LANDGRAVE of HESSE, the protestant CANTONS of SWITZERLAND and the Towns of GENEVA, BREMEN and EMBDEN.

But it was soon evident from the Conduct of these *Divines*, that they met together to condemn their Opponents rather than refute Them; and accordingly the Doctrines of ARMINIUS were declared *heretical* and *scandalous*, tending to introduce *Pope-ry* into the *United Provinces*; and in Conse-

quence of this all Those *Divines* who were either known to be *Arminians*, or suspected for such, were suspended from officiating in their Functions, banished the *United Provinces*, and forbid to return under severe Penalties.

The Decisions of the *Synod of Dort* may justly be said to have fixed the Fate of *Monsieur De Barneveldt*; who was now brought to his Trial and condemned to Death on the 12th of May, 1619, by a Set of Commissioners chosen in Reality by the *Prince of Orange*, tho' nominated by the *States General*, in manifest Violation of the Rights and Privileges of the *Provincial States of Holland*, his natural and lawful Judges. And to prevent the Complaints of that Assembly, who some time before, by an authentic Resolution of State, had taken *Monsieur De Barneveldt* into their Protection; the *Prince*, by another Insult on their Privileges, removed several of their Members, and substituted others in their Room, that were entirely devoted to Him.

In Pursuance of this Sentence, *Monsieur De Barneveldt* was beheaded at the *Hague*, in the 76th Year of his Age, after having long served the State with great Abilities, and been the principal Means of *Prince Maurice's* early Elevation.

It cannot be doubted, that thro' all this Scene of Violence and Injustice, the *Prince* acted by CÆSAR's Maxim, (a) with a View to make Himself Sovereign of his Country. But because he did not execute This when It was in his Power, after having destroyed *Monsieur De Barneveldt* and his Adherents, the Friends of the *House of Orange* took Occasion to deny that It had ever been his Intention; in Hopes no doubt to obviate the general Odium which the Avowal of such a Design would cast upon his Memory. But the *Prince's* Actions were of too strong a Dye to admit so favourable an Interpretation. The truth is, that after *Monsieur De Barneveldt's* Death, His *Highness* met with more Obstacles to his Design than he had foreseen. Even those who had assisted to bring on the Fate of that Minister, were upon the whole, as much averse to the Loss of their Liberty, as the Deceased.

And on the other Hand, The *Prince* saw but too visibly, that by the Death, Im-

(a) Si violandum est Jus, Regni Gratia violandum est; in cæteris Rebus Fidem & Pietatem colas

Eurip:

prisonment, and Exile of so many Persons, who were well allied, and had served the *State* with Fidelity and Honour, He had entirely lost the Affections of the People. In proportion, as his real Designs came to be discovered, the Odium that had been artfully raised against *Monsieur De Barneveldt* was changed into Pity: and the *Prince*, who was considered as the Author of all the Injustice that had been done Him, from being the Darling of the Public, became its Aversion.

Such was the State of *Domestic Affairs* in the *United Provinces*; and the Situation of Things abroad was still more averse to the *Prince's* Undertaking. The ELECTOR PALATINE, upon whom He had a very great Dependance, was so entirely reduced by the Battle of PRAGUE, that instead of being in a Condition, to assist *Prince Maurice* upon any Extremity, He was forced to be obliged to Him for Part of his own Subsistence. And on the other Hand, the EMPEROR, FERDINAND II, was become so absolute over the *Princes* and *Free Towns* of the *Empire*, that the *Prince* lost all Hopes of the least Assistance from *Germany*.

Chag-

Chagrined with these Disappointments, and penetrated, It may be, with Remorse, for his Injustice to *Monsieur De Barneveldt*, PRINCE MAURICE, from being fat, robust, and indefatigable; became lean, languish'd and died in the Beginning of the Year 1625. BREDA was at that Time besieged by the famous SPINOLA. The Prince had taken It by Surprize from the *Spaniards*, thirty four Years before, when He was yet young in the Command of the Army; and it being a City of his own *Patrimony*, a Report was spread that He died of Grief, for not being able to relieve It; but Others, with more Probability, ascribed His Death to the Disquiet and Chagrin he had conceived upon the ill Success of the Schemes He had formed to acquire the *Sovereignty* of His Country.

PRINCE FREDERIC HENRY, Son of *William I*, by his fourth Wife *Louisa de Colligni* Daughter of the great *Admiral* of that Name, succeeded *Prince Maurice*, in all his Commands, and Authority in the *United Provinces*. This Prince had given Marks of an early Bravery in his Brother's Life Time, under whom He learned the Art of War; and continued to Command the Forces of the *States General* after

after his Death, with great Capacity and Courage.

To give an Account of his Actions would be to write the History of the *Republic*, and a Journal of the *War*, in which he was so extreamly fortunate, that by a long and constant Series of Success, He at last reduced the *Spaniards* to the Necessity of making the PEACE of MUNSTER, by which they renounced all Right and Title to the *United Provinces*, and by treating the STATES GENERAL as free and absolute Sovereigns, sealed, if I may so speak, the Liberty of the *Republic*.

The *Princes* of Orange first received the Title of *Highness* from CARDINAL RICHLIEU, who after his Design upon the *Principality of Orange* had failed, omitted nothing that might flatter *Prince Frederic Henry*; being under a Necessity of preserving the Friendship and Alliance of the *Seven Provinces*, the better to effectuate the ambitious Projects He had formed for aggrandising the *French Monarchy*.

FREDERIC HENRY died in *March 1647*, after having been some Time ill of a Dropsy and other Distempers, which lessened his Capacity and imbittered his Temper.

The Good of the *Commonwealth* was the Object of this *Prince's* Actions, through the whole Course of his Administration. He endeavoured, with abundance of Care, to reconcile contending Parties, and in the midst of *foreign War*, to preserve the *domestic Peace* of his Country. To this Purpose He always chose to employ Methods of Lenity and Moderation rather than those of Authority ; nor can the utmost Malice reproach Him with any Attempt either secret or open, against the *Liberty* of the REPUBLIC. (a)

WILLIAM II, only Son of *Prince Frederic Henry*, had in his Father's Life-Time, been invested by the *States of Holland* with the Reversion of the *Stadtholdership* ; yet, tho' they were sitting when *Frederic Henry* died, they declined for some time to install the young *Prince* in that Dignity, to shew that the Government was not Hereditary, but depended on the Donation of the *States*. At last however he was fully invested with all the Honours and Authority of his Ancestors. This *Prince* had married the PRINCESS ROYAL of ENGLAND, Daughter to

(a) Basnage, *Annales des Provinces Unies*. Page 62.

KING CHARLES I. He inherited the Policy of his Grandfather, with all the Courage and Ambition of his Uncle *Maurice*, and traversed the *Peace* of *Munster* with the same Vigour, and the same Views, that the latter had opposed the Truce of 1609. But not having been able to prevent the Conclusion of that Treaty, He set about to make Himself absolute at Home, and would effectuate in the Beginning of his Administration, that which his *Uncle* had failed to do at the End of his Life, when his Authority and Power were augmented and strengthened by a long Series of Victory and Success.

It was not long before the young *Prince* had an Occasion to exert Himself

The Treaty of MUNSTER having settled the Peace between SPAIN and the UNITED PROVINCES; the *States general* applied themselves very industriously to the Regulation of their Revenues. The Province of *Holland*, in particular, was earnest to lessen the public Expence; and in this View proposed amongst other Things, that Part of the *Army* should be immediately disbanded. But the *Prince* of *Orange*, seconded by the *States general*, and the *Council* of *State* represented, that the Peace not being yet made between FRANCE and SPAIN; and those *Crowns* having their *Armies* at the Gates of the *Re-public*,

public, It would be prudent to defer for some time disbanding the *Army* till Things should be better settled. The Quality and Number of those Forces that were to be reformed furnished another Subject of Debate. The *Province of Holland* was for preserving the *national Troops*, and disbanding the *Strangers*. The *Prince* on the contrary said It was not equitable to turn away those who had so well signalized Themselves for their Fidelity and Valour, in Defence of the *Commonwealth*; and demanded that the *Reform* should fall in an equal Proportion between the *national Troops* and the *Strangers*. These *foreign Forces* consisted of five *English* Regiments of Foot, five *French*, three *Scotch*, three *German*, and fifteen *Flemish*, which last the *Province of Holland* inclined to reserve, and to disband almost all the Rest, who had served with Honour, even from the Infancy of the *Republic*.

With Regard to the Number that was to be cashiered, *HOLLAND* proposed to reduce the *ARMY* to *twenty five thousand seven hundred FOOT*, and *two thousand seven hundred HORSE*; whereas the *STATES GENERAL* desired to reserve *three thousand HORSE*, with *twenty six thousand three hundred FOOT*. (a)

(a) Voyez les Annales des Provinces unies par Monsieur. *Basnage*. p. 168.

The Difference was trifling, and could never have produced a Rupture, had not their Minds been already too well disposed for it.

But *Holland* which paid annually to the Amount of at least *one Million eight hundred thousand Florins* more than her Revenues amounted to, was not only obstinate as to the Number of Troops to be retained, but insisted also that the Rest should be immediately cashiered; and accordingly the STATES of that *Province*, without observing the usual Formalities, or having any Regard to the Opposition of the *Prince of Orange*, and the *Council of State*, sent Orders to the several *Captains* of their Dependance, to disband their Companies upon Pain of not being paid upon the old Establishment, longer than the *20th* of *July* of the same Year. (a)

This occasioned a general Discontent. The Officers complained to the *Prince*, to the *Council of State*, and the *States General*. Their HIGH MIGHTINESSES, after debating the Point; were of Opinion that the *Province of Holland* had broke the UNION of UTRECHT; since the Troops having been raised for the general De-

(a) This was 1650.

fence of the *Provinces*, ought not to be disbanded without the same Concurrence; and concluded, by a Majority of Votes, to desire the *Provincial Council of State* to assemble the same Day, in order to revoke the Orders of the *States of Holland*, and give new ones for the Payment of the *Troops* as usual, 'till the Manner of Disbanding them should be regulated by the Common Consent. But the *Council* had no Power to supercede the Orders of the *States of Holland*; wherefore She proposed to convene that *Assembly*, that They might debate a second Time upon a Point which was become much more important than was at first imagined.

The STATES OF HOLLAND resolved to maintain their first Resolution, and repeated their Orders for the execution of It. The *Governors* of the *Frontier Towns*, were commanded on the Contrary to obey the *States General*.

Thus Dissention was introduced between the *Provinces*, which gave the *Prince* an Opportunity of executing the Projects He had formed against their common Liberty.

The COUNCIL OF STATE with the PRINCE of ORANGE as its Head, accompanied by the COUNT of NASSAU, Governor of *Frize-land*,

land, went in a Body to the Assembly of the *States General*, and besought their HIGH MIGHTINESSES to forbid the disbanding the *Army*, in Consequence of the Orders given by *Holland*; and that they would please to send a *Deputation* to the particular Towns of that *Province*, to engage Them to change their Resolution. Besides this, the PRINCE desired that he might be authorised to give the necessary Orders for the Preservation of the UNION, and to oppose whatever might be undertaken to disturb and invade It: declaring at the same time, that he would put Himself at the Head of the *Deputation*, and make the *Tour* of *Holland*, if their high Mightinesses consented to It.

The *States General*, notwithstanding the Opposition of *Holland*, fell into every thing the Prince desired. The *Deputation* was voted; His Highness was desired to appear at the Head of It, and authorised at the same Time to give the necessary Orders for the Preservation of the Union. This in Effect was creating a DICTATOR; for the Resolution was couched in such Terms as gave the Prince Room to justify whatever He might think proper to undertake.

His Highness and the Members of the *States General* set out. Their first Visit was to DORT, the most antient Town of the
Province

Province of Holland. The Magistrates gave them Audience out of Respect to the *Prince*, reserving the Right of *Sovereignty* to the *Provincial States*, and freedom of voting in the *Senate*. *Monsieur Aertsbergue* spoke for the *Deputation*. He represented the dangerous Tendencies of the Conduct of *Holland*, both against the *Union* of *Utrecht*, and the established *Religion*, for the Defence of which *WILLIAM I.* had engaged the People to take Arms. He expatiated upon the Authority of the *Council of State*, to whom the Power of *raising* and *disbanding* the Forces had been entrusted; and enlarged upon the several Propositions of Accommodation which had been in vain proposed with respect to disbanding the *Army*. He said that if *Holland* was loaded with Debts and Taxes, the other *Provinces* had the same Causes of Complaint, or rather that they had none of them just Reason to complain of That which was the unavoidable Consequence of a long *War*. He insinuated to the *Magistrates* that they had given their *Deputies* Instructions to oppose the Reform of the Troops, notwithstanding which they had consented to it; and lastly, he extolled the Excellence of the present Expedient for terminating the Misunderstandings that had hapned, for which he said, there could not be a more proper

Remedy than this *Deputation*, with the *Prince of Orange* at its Head.

To this strenuous Discourse the *Magistrates* answered simply, that They would give their Opinion in the Assembly of the *provincial States*, in such a manner as should be most consistent with the *public Good*. The World was equally surprized with the Modesty of this Reply, and the Insolence of *Aertsbergue*; who not only demanded a more categorical Answer, but that the *Magistrates* should confess to have violated the *Union*, and deserved *corporal Punishment*. He concluded with threatening to employ other Methods than those of remonstrating; and behaved so haughtily that He would have run a very great Risque had He not been protected by the *Prince's* Presence, backed by a great Number of Officers that attended Him. The *Magistrates* expressed their Indignation at this Treatment, acquainted the *Provincial States* with the insulting Menaces that had been thrown out against Them, and resolved unanimously to refuse all Conference with the *Prince of Orange*, and the *Deputies* of the *States general*.

The *Deputation* was better received in some other Towns of the Province; But the REGENTS of AMSTERDAM, sent two *Burgomasters* as far as *Tergow* to desire the
Prince

Prince to stop his Journey, because They could not admit his *Highness*, and those that attended Him to an Audience in the Senate: And finding that the *Prince* kept on his Way, They sent a third *Burgemaster*, with the *President Schepen*, and Town Secretary; as far as *Edam*, to acquaint his *Highness* that if He came as Governor of their Province, He should be received with all the Honours due to his *Birth* and *Quality*; but that They could not receive Him as a *Deputy* of the *States General*, because that Deputation might be attended with dangerous Consequences. They spoke the same Language when his *Highness* arrived in their City.

The REGENTS of HARLEM and DELFT imitated those of *Amsterdam*. The Towns of NORTH HOLLAND were more complaisant, with Exception to *Horn* and *Medemblick*. The Latter sent to tell the *Prince* the Roads were *bad*, and that the Town was too small to accommodate his *Highness* and so numerous a Deputation, in a Manner suitable to their *Quality*.

The PRINCE returned to the *Hague*; and *Monsieur Aertsbergue* made his Report to the *States General*, complaining of the little Respect that had been shewn to their *High Mightiness's* Deputies. He said, he had found

the *Towns* of *Holland* divided into four different Opinions. Some professed themselves inviolably attached to the *Union*; Others were *lukewarm*: The *Third* did not explain themselves upon that *Subject*: And the Rest refused to give the *Deputies* Audience. The *Prince* only added, that He had not met with all the Respect that was due to his Person; but some Days afterwards, his *Highness* was much louder in his Complaints to the *Provincial States* of *Holland*, and printed his Speech, that it might have the greater Effect on the *Clergy* and *Common People*, who were intirely devoted to Him. The *States* of *Holland* on their Part published a *Manifesto* in which They indeavour'd to justify their Conduct, and sent It to the *States* of the other six Provinces.

A Dispute concerning a Right of Jurisdiction redoubled the Animosity of the several Parties.

Admiral de Wit, who Commanded a Squadron of *Dutch Men of War*, for the Defence of the *Brazils* against *Portugal*, left that Coast, and returned to *Holland* without Orders. (a) The PRINCE of

(a) Annales des Provinces unies, par *Bastage*, Fol. 171.

ORANGE, as *Lord High Admiral*, put Him under Arrest, and the *States General* sent their Commands at the same Time to the *Admiralty of Amsterdam*, to confine the several *Captains* that had followed DE WIT's *Flag*.

This produced a Dispute of Jurisdiction. The STATES of HOLLAND, said It was an Infringement of their *Sovereignty*, to imprison Persons in that Manner, within the Territory of their *Province*, who ought to be left to the Course of ordinary Justice.

But the STATES GENERAL justified their Conduct by the Example of certain Captains who had served under *Admiral Pater*, and were made Prisoners by the *Admiralty of Amsterdam*, at their Return; as well as of the Souldiers who delivered up the Bay of *All Saints*, in 1625. And to this They added, that the Law was clear in the Point; since those Officers who received their Commissions from the *States General*, and had taken an *Oath of Fidelity* to them, must necessarily depend on their Jurisdiction, especially for the Tryal of Crimes committed out of the *Extent* of the *Provinces* and in Places where the *States General* had established a *Council*, and a *Court of Justice*.

But the *Province of Holland* was obstinate, and affirmed that the *States General* could exercise no Kind of Jurisdiction whatsoever within her District, unless in certain Cases, with relation to the *Militia*; and that it would be a manifest Violation of her Liberties, to punish Offenders in a Place, where the *natural and lawful Sovereign* was obliged to remit the cognisance of the Crime to the *High Court of Justice*.

Agreeable to this, the *Magistrates of Amsterdam* forced open the Doors of the *Admiralty Prisons*, and released the *Captains* from their Confinement; upon which the PRINCE of ORANGE foreseeing the same Thing would be done at the *Hague* in Favour of *Admiral De Wit*, his *Highness* of his own Accord set Him at Liberty; but determined at the same Time, to revenge Himself of the several Insults he had received, and to set his Authority above the Reach of such Attempts for the Future.

The first Step the Prince took, in Order to This, was to Imprison Six of the *Provincial States of Holland*; Deputies of those Towns that had given his *Highness* an ill Reception. These were *Jacob De Wit* Burgomaster of *Dort*, Father of Him who was afterwards *Grand Pensionary of Holland*; *John De Waal*, Burgo-

Burgomaster of *Harlem*; *Albert Reuyl* Pensionary of the same Town; *John Duyft De Voorhout*. Burgomaster of *Delft*; *Nanning Keyzer*, Pensionary of *Horn*; and *Nicholas Stelingwerf*, Secretary of *Medemblick*. (a) *Messieurs Bikker*, Burgomasters of *Amsterdam*, having received an Information that a Design was formed against their Persons, kept close in their City, and avoided the Blow,

The *Prince* sent to invite the *Deputies* separately, to come and confer with Him upon certain Affairs before the opening of the Assembly. A *Valet de Chambre*, attended in the *Anti-Chamber*, and upon their Appearance, took care to usher them to a several Apartment, where they were lock'd up till the Evening, and then sent to the Castle of *Louvestein* under a strong Party.

In the mean time the *Guards* were doubled, and the *Hague* was in a few Hours filled with *Souldiers*, to keep the *States of Holland* in Awe, and prevent a Rescue.

The *Prince* sent for *Monsieur Cats*, who was then *Grand Pensionary*, told Him what He had done, and charged Him to ac-

(a) *Annales des Provinces unies par Basnage* p. 172.

quaint the *States of Holland* with It ; letting Him know at the same Time, that He had ordered Troops to march under the Command of the *Count de Nassau*, Governour of *Frizeland*, for the Reduction of *Amsterdam*. His *Highness* was persuaded that He was already Master of the Town, and told *Monsieur Cats* He would set out that very Day to put Himself at the Head of the Troops.

The *Grand Pensionary* would willingly have excused Himself from undertaking so disagreeable a Commission. He beg'd the *Prince* to write down the Names of the *Deputies*, and the Motives that had induced his *Highness* to confine Them ; The Fear and Surprize with which he was penetrated, having made him incapable, He said, of repeating His *Highness's* Words with that exactness that was requisite.

The News threw the whole Assembly of the *States of Holland* into the utmost Consternation ; They were at a Loss what Measures to take, and adjourned for some Days to acquaint their Principals with what passed at the *Hague*, and receive their Orders.

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The learned *Historian* * whom I have chosen to follow in my Relation of these Facts, informs us that the Language of the *Prince's Party* upon this Occasion, was that the *Stadtholder* was originally created to preserve the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and restrain such *Provinces* as might either attempt to dissolve It, or separate Themselves from the Rest. They said, HOLLAND had struck an unhappy Blow at the UNION, in disbanding the *Troops* by her own Authority, not only against the Consent, but even in direct Opposition to the STATES GENERAL. That so violent a Proceeding gave Room to suspect she had formed a Design to usurp a Superiority over her *Sister Provinces*; but that supposing the best, she had given a very dangerous Example to the Rest, who would at any time think Themselves equally at Liberty to disband the *Troops* that were in their Pay; inasmuch that the *Republic* might be left entirely naked and defenceless. To this, *they added*, that a violent Disease could not be cured but by a Remedy of the same Nature, which their HIGH MIGHTINESSES understood so well,

* *Monsieur Basnage.*

that they had invested the *Prince* with an unlimited Power to act as He thought fit.

But the *Republicans*, irritated at this Conduct, complained loudly of those *temporising Courtiers*, who sacrificing the *Commonwealth* to their private Interest, ed the *Prince* by Degrees to a *Despotick* Power. 'Twas with the utmost Concern They saw the *Liberty* of the *States* violated; a Number of *Deputies* imprisoned, and the Rest intimidated and heartless, at a *Crisis* when all their Courage was requisite to assert the *Liberties* of the *Province*. In vain, *said they*, have we resisted the SPANISH YOKE, if we must now receive that of the young PRINCE OF ORANGE. In vain was so much Blood spilt, to establish a *Monarchy* for the *House of Nassau*.

In the mean Time, the *Prince*, who covered his Actions under the *Resolution* of the *States General*, by which they authorised Him in general Terms, to employ the necessary means for the *Preservation* of the UNION, and the *Prevention* of whatsoever might be undertaken to its *Prejudice*, thought it proper to let their *High Mightinesses* know the Use He made of the Power they had entrusted him with. This was done in His *Highness's* Name, by the *President of the Week*; But notwithstanding

standing the Respect and Affection of the *States* for the *Prince* and his *Family*, their Concern was very great; and 'twas apparent enough from their Surprise, that they had never entertained an Idea, that the general, unguarded Expressions, in which their *Resolution* was couched, could have been construed into an Authority to *imprison* SIX of the *PROVINCIAL STATES*, and lay Siege to the principal *City* of the *United Provinces*.

But the *Prince* had thrown the *Die*, and would not retract It. He believed the Success of all his Designs depended upon the Reduction of *Amsterdam*, and resolved if possible, to make Himself Master of It.

To this Purpose He had ordered *Count Dbona* and *Monsieur De Somelsdick*, to draw out Part of the neighbouring Garrisons, and rendezvous at *Abcou*, situated about two Leagues from *Amsterdam*, where *COUNT WILLIAM* of *NASSAU*, *STADTHOLDER* of *FRIZELAND*, was to join Them, so as to be before that *City* by Break of Day, where they were to possess Themselves of a Gate, before the *Burghers* had Leisure to prepare for its Defence; and to facilitate the Execution, *Major Gentillot* a *Frenchman*, had conveyed Himself into the Town on the Evening before, with fifty Men, who were
to

to secure the Guard, and open a Gate to the Besiegers.

The *Magistrates* and *People* of *Amsterdam*, were in so great a Security, that at the first News of this little Army, they concluded Them to be some Vagabond Souldiers belonging to the *Duke* of *Lorraine*, that were ventured out a Moroding; far from suspecting that the *Troops* of the *State* could be engaged in such an Expedition. The Enterprize was well concerted, and miscarried through very trifling Incidents. Tho' in the Middle of *Summer*, the Night was so obscure and rainy, that the *Horse* mistaking their Way, did not come up to the Place of Rendezvous 'till long after the Time appointed; and what was still of more Importance, the *Officer* who commanded Them, not being in the Secret, permitted the *Hamborough* Post-Boy to go on, who alarmed the whole Town with an Account of what He had seen, which was soon confirmed by an Express from the *Governor* of *Muyden*, giving an Account, that a considerable Body of Horse were in full March on the Side of the *Diemar*.

The People surpris'd with the Approach of the *Troops*, run in Crowds to offer their Service: The Cannon were brought to the Ramparts, and several Men of War, and
Frigates

Frigates, were put in Order for the Defence of the *Port* and the *River Amstel*. The *Senate* debated whether They should lay the Country under Water, by cutting their *Dykes* and opening the *Sluices*; but the more moderate Opinions prevailed, and They determined only to admit so much Water, as was necessary for the Security of those Places that were easiest of Access.

The Siege of a Town situated in the Bottom of a *Gulf*, surrounded with *Fens* and *Marshes*, and to which It was impossible to make Approaches, except by Causeways and narrow Roads, intermixt with an infinite Number of *Canals*, could not but be exceeding difficult; and accordingly the *Count De Nassau*, no sooner found his Design was discovered, than he knew it to be impracticable.

The *Prince* received the News of This upon *Saturday* in the Evening, and was extremely affected with the ill Success of an Enterprize, in which his Honour and Authority were equally concerned. He believed, says my *Historian* upon this Occasion, what *Princes* commonly believe, that his Presence would immediately dispel all Difficulties; and thus on *Sunday* Morning, after having been at Church, and heard the Remonstrances of the two *Provincial Courts*
of

of Justice, He took Horse in View of the *States General*, and set out to put Himself at the Head of the *Troops* that were before *Amsterdam*, followed by a great Number of *Officers* and *Nobility* who determined to share his Fortune.

His *Highness* sent circular Letters the same Morning, to all the *Provinces*, except *Holland*, acquainting Them, that having received Orders from the *States General*, for the Re-establishment of the *UNION*, He had taken the necessary Measures for that Purpose. That having represented to the *States of Holland*, in the most pathetick Manner, the Mischiefs into which they were about to precipitate the *Republic*, He had afterwards addressed himself to the particular Town of that *Province*; but this Remedy having only served to inflame the Sore, He found Himself obliged, in order to come at the Root of the Disease, to imprison certain disaffected Persons, who disturbed the Repose of the *Commonwealth*, and to possess Himself of the Town of *Amsterdam*. Lastly, He hoped the *Provinces* would not only approve, but also concur in his Design, and assist Him to chastise Those who disturbed the *public Peace*; protesting before God, that he had no other View, than the Re-establishment of the Tranquility, and
Good

Good of his *Country*, with the Security of the *Reformed Religion*, for the Preservation of which He was ready to sacrifice his *Life*.

On the Road between the *Hague* and *Amsterdam*, his HIGHNESS found *Monsieur De Beverweert* ; who tho' related to the Family of *NASSAU*, had not been of the *Prince's Cabinet* when this Undertaking was resolved on. In order to make his *Highness* comprehend his Danger, He carried Him upon the *Dyke* which separates the *Tey* from the *Sea* of *Harlem*. ' Observe, says he to the *Prince*, ' this immense Quantity of Water, which it ' will be impossible to resist, if the *Magistrates* ' of *Amsterdam* resolve to make Use of it to ' drown your *Forces*. This once determined ; ' the Height and Impetuosity of the Water will ' be redoubled by opening their *Dykes* and ' *Sluices*, and your *Army* will perish under the ' Walls of a Town, which it is impossible to ' take if they will hazard every thing for its ' Defence. The Thing was evident ; and the *Prince*, who perceived that the Safety of his *Army* depended on the Arbitration of the *People* and *Magistrates* of *Amsterdam*, desired *Monsieur De Beverweert* to make all the Haste he could to the *Hague*, and engage the *States General* to recall His *Highness*, by a Deputation which might screen his Honour, and
pre-

preserve Him the Affections of the *People*, by his appearing to lay aside the *Seige* in Deference to the Councils of the Republic.

Before *Monsieur Beverweert* could get to the *Hague*, *Monsieur de Bronckburst*, President of the *Week*, had already notified the *Prince's* Departure to the *States general*, and his Design upon *Amsterdam*. Their HIGH MIGHTINESSES were of Opinion, that the Source of the Evil was in the *Province of Holland*, and that it was impossible to redress it without her Concurrence; wherefore they voted a Deputation to the *States* of that *Province*, conjuring them to stop the Course of so dangerous an Emotion. The *States of Holland*, on their Part, went in a Body to the *Grand Pensionary*, desiring him to use his utmost Endeavours to terminate this Affair, either by procuring a *Repeal* of the Resolution of the *States General*, upon which the *Prince of Orange* grounded his Measures; or that a Deputation should be sent to the *Prince*, desiring his *Highness's* Return to the *Hague*, and that he would restore the Commerce of *Amsterdam*, by ceasing all Hostilities, and ordering the Troops to their several Quarters. This was exactly what the *Prince* desired; who whilst Things were thus negotiating at the *Hague*, concluded another Treaty at *Amsterdam*, that was still more advantageous

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to Him. His *Highness* wrote to the *Magistrates*, demanding Admission into the Town, but insinuated at the same Time that He would not enter it, till the Misunderstanding should be made up; upon which the Regency sent four Deputies to confer with His *Highness*, who agreed upon the following Articles.

First, that the *Prince* should be received into the City with all the Honours that had ever been paid to his Predecessors, *Governours* of the *Province*: and in Quality of *Member* of the *Council of State*, his *Highness* was promised an Audience in full *Senate*. By the second Article, the Town promised to pay the Arrears, due to the *Troops* that the *Province of Holland* had broke, and consent to the Proposition made on that Subject by the *Council of State*, bearing Date the 15th of *July*. Thirdly, the *Magistrates* engaged to employ their good Offices with the *States of Holland*, in order to re-establish the UNION, and obliterate the Remembrance of what was passed. And lastly, the *Prince* demanded that *Messieurs Bikker*, one late and the other *Regent Burgomaster* of *Amsterdam*, should be superceded in their Employments, and rendered incapable of bearing any Office in the City for the future. These *Magistrates* had very much signified

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Them-

Themselves by their Zeal and Activity for the Defence of the Town, and the *Senate* opposed this Demand with a great deal of Warmth ; but the two *Burgomasters* made a generous Sacrifice of their Employments to the Tranquility of the Public.

Thus finished the Siege of *Amsterdam*. The *Troops* were sent back to their *Quarters* ; the *Prince*, content to have acquired the Liberty of entering the *City*, went away without doing it, the *Deputies* of the *States General* being informed upon the Road, that the Difference was made up, returned to the *Hague* ; and the *Regents* of *Amsterdam* executed the Capitulation with Punctuality. But to avoid being exposed to the same Attempts for the Future, They resolved to fortify Their *City*, and settled fifty four Companies of *Burghers* for its Defence.

The Reader will be surpris'd, considering the ill Situation of the *Prince's* Army, that his *Highness* should have procured such advantageous Terms. But it seems the Town already began to feel the ill Effects of a Siege ; and besides this, the *Prince* had his Party in the *City*, which upon this Occasion was joyned by the *Malecontents*, and both together made a very numerous Body. Satires were thrown about against
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the Magistrates, who amongst other Things, were accused with holding Intelligence with the PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND, because PETERSON, a *Senator of Amsterdam*, had been sent to CROMWELL, on the Part of the *Province of Holland*, whilst he refused to admit an *Embassador* from the *Republic*. This, whether true or false, served to render Them extremely odious to the Public; the *English* being then, as They are at present, mortally hated by the People of the *Province of Holland*, especially those of *Amsterdam*, as their great Rivals in *Commerce*, without which the *Dutch* cannot possibly subsist. The *Merchants* apprehended that the *Siege* would stop the Payment of their Bills, and ruin public Credit, by breaking the *Course of Exchange*; and the PRINCE took Care to strengthen their *Apprehensions*, by giving out, that He intended to change the *Siege* into a *Blocade*, in Order to have Time to reinforce his *Army*. Lastly, It must be owned, that the *Magistrates of Amsterdam*, did not find that Support from the PROVINCE OF HOLLAND, which they had Reason to Expect. *Harlem*, opened her Gates to the *Prince's Troops*, and supply'd Them with Provisions; *Leyden*, furnished Them with Implements necessary for the *Siege*; *Delft* sent her *Can-*

non and other Military Stores, laid up there in the provincial *Arsenal*; and of all the Towns of the Province, *Tergow* alone, forbid her *Garrison* to join the *Prince*, in Opposition to his *Highness's* Orders. In this feeble Manner acted the *States of Holland*; so unlike the Descendants of those who had rescued their *Liberty* from the Tyranny of PHILIP II.

As for the *States General*, they amused Themselves with fruitless Deliberations, instead of revoking their Resolution, which gave a Colour to the *Prince's* Undertaking. Nor could this be wondred at; for not only the Friends of the *House of Orange* were extreamly numerous in the *Assembly of the States General*: but some of the *Provinces* began to think their Interest different from that of *Holland*.

The Affair of the *Six Prisoners at Louveslein*, was yet to be adjusted. *Dort* made pressing Instances for the Liberty of her *Burgomaster De Wit*, and sent her Deputies to the *Hague*, with Orders not to engage in any public Affair, 'till they had procured it. But the other Towns, intimidated by the Siege of *Amsterdam*, did not proceed with the same Vigour; so a Treaty was concluded, by which the *Prince of Orange* engaged to let the *Prisoners at Liberty*,

Liberty, on Condition that They should ask Leave to relinquish their Employments.

In the mean Time, the *six Provinces* who had received the *Prince's circular Letters*, loaded his *Highness* with their Compliments, and Thanks for his Care of the public. They differed from one another in the Warmth of their Acknowledgments; but all concurred to thank him for his Zeal and Care to preserve the *Union*: and as for the *Siege of Amsterdam*, some stiled it an *heroical Action*; and all agreed that it was necessary. In Reality the *Prince* had executed every thing the *States general* could wish, both for the Security of the *Union*, and the particular Mortification of the *Province of Holland*; But, the Means *His Highness* employed were violent, and such as he would never have made use of, had He intended to have confined Himself to the *Province of a Mediator*. From hence it was in a manner evident, that He had formed the Design of making Himself the *Sovereign* of his *Country*; and tho' nothing was omitted that might possibly conceal the Truth of his Intentions from the Public, yet his *Highness* had the Mortification to find his Views were penetrated, and that He had entirely lost the Confidence of the *People*.

This made the *Hague* disagreeable to Him : So his *Highness* left that charming Village, and went to hide his *Chagrin* at a Country, Seat He had lately purchased in *Gelderland*. Here he spent his Time in Hunting, which was his favorite Exercise, and in reconciling private Differences between the *Nobility* of the *Province* ; till being taken ill of a *Fever*, he was brought back to the *Hague* on the 28th of *October*, 1650, where in two Days after his Arrival, He was taken with the *Small Pox*, of which he died in *November* following, in the twenty fifth Year of his Age.

This Accident occasioned an equal Joy and Sorrow in the *United Provinces*. Those *Magistrates* who had been imprisoned and deposed by the *Prince's* Authority, were now re-established with Honour in their Employments ; and suffered Themselves to be so far transported, as to forget what was due to Decency. *Medals* were struck, insulting the Memory of the dead *Prince*, amongst which that of *Amsterdam* was most remarkable This represented a rising *Sun*, and a young fiery *Horse*, extending Himself over the Town of *Amsterdam* with this Motto.

C R I M I N E A B U N O

D I S C E O M N E S.

And

And in the Margin was added,

QUIA BELLA VETABAT.

Attributing to *Amsterdam* the Honour of having put a Stop to the *War*. On the *Reverse* was seen a *falling Phaeton* with these Words.

MAGNIS EXCIDIT AUSIS.

And at the Bottom was represented the Funeral Proceſſion from the *Hague* to *Delft*.

On the other hand, the Grief that many felt on Occaſion of the *Prince's* Death, was inexpressible. The *Clergy* testified their Concern by Funeral Orations, which were so many Panegyricks to the Memory of the deceased. The *Army* regretted the Loss of its *General* and *Patron*; The greater Part of the *States general*, who had always given into the *Prince's* Measures, were apprehensive of a Revolution in the Government of the *Provinces*, which might prove to their Detriment; and the *Princess* was inconsolable for the Loss of a Husband, who after the tragical Death of her Father, and the Flight of her Brothers was her only Comfort. Her *Highness's* Grief was abated however by the Posthumous Birth of a *Prince*, whom she

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brought

brought into the World eight Days after his Father's Defeat. This was WILLIAM III, Prince of Orange, and afterwards, King of Great Britain, whose glorious Actions have eternalized his Memory.

WILLIAM II, was extremely Handsome, but of a Temper inclining to Melancholy. He was seldom seen to laugh, and had from his earliest Infancy, preferred serious Occupations to the common Amusements of Childhood. He had an uncommon Penetration, and a wondrous Disposition for the Sciences, especially the Mathematicks, and was a very great admirer of DES CARTES's Philosophy, tho' it was very much decried in the *Universities* of the Republic. He had inherited both the *Politicks* and *Taciturnity* of his Grandfather, and it was presumed upon very good Grounds, that He would have equalled the Bravest of his Ancestors in military Performances. His Ambition was unlimited; and as He sacrificed every Thing to It, 'tis probable that had He lived, He would have acquired the *Sovereignty* of the *United Provinces*, either under a fresh Title, or by perpetuating the *Stadtholdership* in his Family, as it was afterwards settled in the Time of his Son, William III.

The Death of *William II*, was attended with several great Events. The Power of the *Stadtholder* devolved in a great Measure on the *States* of the several *Provinces*; and in Process of Time, This produced a perpetual *Edict* on the Part of *Holland*, or a *Bill of Exclusion*, which incapacitated the young *Prince of Orange* to enjoy the Dignities of his Ancestors, and annihilated the *Stadtholdership* in that *Province*. Nothing was omitted that could possibly weaken the *Prince*, and put it out of his Power to revenge Himself, in Time to come, of the Indignities that were now offered Him; nor can there be a greater Instance of the Instability of human Affairs, than the History of the perpetual *Edict*.

JOHN DE WIT was made *Grand Pensionary* of *Holland* in 1653, whose Hatred for the *Stadtholdership*, and Resentment for the usage his Father had received from *William II*, could be equalled by Nothing but the Greatness of his Abilities, and his Capacity to effect whatsoever he undertook. The *United Provinces* were engaged in a ruinous War with *England*, and sent their Ministers to propose a Peace at *London*.

OLIVER CROMWELL then governed the Affairs of *England*, under the Appearance of a *Council of State*, of which he was *President*.
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The *Embassadors*, were admitted to an Audience in the Council. CROMWELL, answered their Harrangue by censuring the Imprudence of the *Republic*, in making War with so unequal an Enemy. He told Them fiercely, that if He listened to Peace, It could be only under two Conditions. The *First*: That Satisfaction should be made for the Insults that TROMP had given to the *English Flag*, and 2dly, that there should be no Suspension of Arms, 'till the Treaty was concluded. But some Time afterwards, He explained Himself to two of the *Embassadors*, and told Them very frankly, of the Apprehensions he was under from the Extent of the *Dutch Commerce*; adding, that there could never be a sure and lasting Peace between the two Nations, 'till there was a *Coalition of Interests*, by uniting Them under one and the same Government.

‘ Since We have the same Religion, says
 ‘ He, We can do Nothing more agreeable
 ‘ to God, than to unite ourselves strictly, the
 ‘ better to resist the Enemies of our holy
 ‘ Reformation. The only Object of my Actions
 ‘ having been the Glory of God, this is
 ‘ your Security for my Sincerity. It is not any
 ‘ personal Interest that engages me to propose
 ‘ this Union of the two Republicks. Content
 ‘ with having been the Instrument of Heaven,
 ‘ in

‘ in accomplishing a Work so important to
 ‘ *Religion*, I am far from desiring to draw
 ‘ any particular Advantage from It. The
 ‘ two Nations making one and the same
 ‘ People, shall be governed by a SOVEREIGN
 ‘ PARLIAMENT, in which the *United Pro-*
 ‘ *vinces* shall have their Deputies. I will
 ‘ depend equally on this august *Tribunal*,
 ‘ with every other Subject; and retain no
 ‘ more Power than shall be allotted me. (a)

This Proposition first broach'd to the *Dutch* Ministers by *Cromwell*, was afterwards communicated to them in Form by the *Council of State*. The *Embassadors* astonish'd at so extraordinary an Overture, said all they could to shew the Impossibility of its Execution: But the *Council* was resolute, and threatned to break off the Conferences, if this Article were refused: upon which the *Embassadors* detached two of their Body to consult their *Principals* in *Holland*, and receive new Instructions how to treat so singular a Proposal.

In the mean time the *English* and *Dutch* *Fleets* engaged. *Admiral Tromp* was killed, and *Monk* obtained a bloody Victory.

(a) Annales des Provinces unies, par *Easnage* Fol. 312.

The *Dutch Embassadors* returned to LONDON. They shew'd the Impossibility of a *Union* between the two Nations, and proposed other Measures for an Accommodation. *Cromwell*, affected to be convinced by their Arguments. and after expressing his own good Designs in forming that Project; He told Them, that provided they could agree upon the Superiority of the *Flag*, and a *Duty to be paid to England for the Herrings taken on our Coast*, the *Peace* would be easily concluded. But some Days afterwards, the Commissioners who were appointed to negotiate with the *Dutch*, presented Them the Project of a Treaty, in which besides the Article of the *Flag*, and the Duty upon *Herrings*, were inserted two fresh Demands, implying, that the *States* should engage themselves to exclude the *Prince of Orange* from all the *Employments of his Ancestors*, and that the *Republic* should not fit out above a certain Number of *Men of War*, without the Consent of the *Parliament of England*.

These Conditions appeared intollerable to the *Embassadors*, who took their Leaves, and prepared to return Home, just as *Cromwell* having destroyed the little Authority that remained in the *Parliament*, assumed the Government under the Title of PROTECTOR ; which havig created him a great many

many Enemies, He became more disposed to an Accommodation with the *United Provinces*. 'Twas then that having comprehended the Impossibility of engaging the *Republic* to exclude the young *Prince of Orange*, He made a secret Proposition to *Monsieur De Beverning*, a Member of the Embassy on the Part of *Holland*, in which he offered Him the Peace, provided the *Province of Holland* alone, would engage by a private and separate Article never to have a *Stadtholder*.

The *Embassadors* set sail for *Holland*, and found the *States general* very well disposed to conclude the Peace: but as there was a Necessity for consulting the several *provincial States*, and these not being assembled, The *Province of Holland*, which resolved to make the best of the *Protector's* pacific Disposition; ordered *Monsieur De Beverning* back to *London*, in the same Vessel that brought Him over.

So precipitated a Conduct displeased the other *Provinces*. They began to suspect *Holland* of separate Measures, and an Intelligence with *Cromwel*, prejudicial to the common Interest. However, The *States general* resolved to send back *Messieurs Nieuport* and *Jongstal* to *London*, with Orders to join the *Deputy of Holland*, and take upon them the Character of *Embassadors*. *Monsieur Nieuport*
was

was of the *Province of Holland* ; but *Jongstal* was of *Frizeland*, and had strict Orders from his *Province*, to watch the Interest of the House of *Orange*.

In the mean Time *Monsieur De Beverning*, who had been absent from *London*, but fourteen Days, found the *Protector's* Disposition for Peace very much abated. *Cromwell* insisted more strenuously than ever, upon the Exclusion of the *Prince of Orange*, which there was so little Appearance of obtaining from the *States General*, that *Messieurs De Beverning* and *Nieuport*, durst not so much as communicate the Proposal to their Colleague *Monsieur Jongstal*, Deputy of *Frizeland*; and *Monsieur Basnage* Himself, assures us, That this Point was treated in Secret Conferences between the *Protector* and *Monsieur De Beverning*, who at last engaged that the *Province of Holland* should never confer the Post of *Stadtholder* and *Captain General* on the young *Prince of Orange*.
(a) CROMWELL, said He could not sleep at Ease, nor think Himself secure of the *Republic*, whilst the *Prince* entertained any Hopes of possessing the Authority of his Ancestors, which might enable Him to

(a) *Annales des Provinces unies*, par *Basnage*, Fol. 335.

assist his Uncle CHARLES II, to recover the *Crown of England*. But from the Moment the *Protector* obtained this Promise on the Part of *Holland*, He thought Himself secure on the Side of the *United Provinces*; and *Messieurs De Beverning* and *Nieuport* having assured Him that *Holland* would ratify the Secret Article of the *Prince's Exclusion*; the *Peace* was immediately concluded. (a)

When the Treaty came to be ratified, there was then a Necessity of publishing the *separate Article*; which had hitherto been kept an inviolable Secret, not only to the *States General*, but even to the Towns of the *Province of Holland*: And now It was, that the *Grand Pensionary* DE WIT, who had hitherto concealed Himself, came publicly upon the Stage. But before He made the Overture to the *States of Holland*; He took care to administer an *Oath* to all the *Deputies*, binding them not only to keep secret the Proposition He was about to make; but also not to declare that any *Oath* of Secrecy had been exacted. This

(a) See the Treaty of Peace and Union between OLIVER CROMWELL as *Protector of England*, and the *United Provinces*, concluded at *Westminster*, April 25th. 1654. *Traites de Paix*. Tom. III. p. 647.

being done, He acquainted them with the separate Article concluded by their *Minister* at *London*. The Astonishment was inexpressible. Those few who were in the Secret, after counterfeiting a greater Surprize than the Rest, declared for the Exclusion. Others desired leave to return to their *Cities*, and consult their *Principals*; which was granted on Condition, that They should communicate the Affair only to the *Burgomasters*, and such as could promote the success of It. Upon the Return of the *Deputies*, the Opinions proved to be divided. The Representatives of *Harlem* and *Leyden*, who were at the Head of those that opposed the Exclusion; exclaimed loudly against the Conduct of *Monsieur De Beverning* and *Nieuport*, and were for calling Them to an Account. Upon which, *Monsieur De Wit*, perceiving the Dispute grow violent, made an Offer to determine the Deliberation according to the *Plurality of Voices*. But This was violently opposed by the *Prince's Party*, who cry'd out, that He was going about to sap the Foundation of the *Union*; and that this being a Matter that related merely to *War and Peace*, the *Unanimity* of the *States* was requisite. Others said on the contrary, that the Establishment of a *Stadtholder*, or the Choice of a Person to fill that Post, was

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one of those Affairs that are stiled *domestic*, and absolutely foreign either to *War* or *Peace*; since It depended only on the *Province* of *Holland* to have a *Governour* or not; or to elect or reject whom she thought proper. This was the Opinion of the Majority, and accordingly It was resolved, ' That His
' HIGHNESS the PROTECTOR of ENGLAND;
' having represented to the *Embassadors* of
' the *Republic* in several Conferences, that
' in Order to render the Peace sure and
' lasting, between the two Nations, It was
' necessary to ease Him of the Fear He
' was under, that if the principal Employ-
' ments of the *State* were conferred on the
' *Prince* of *Orange*, the Alliances of that
' *Prince* with the Family of the *Stuarts*,
' would occasion Misunderstandings and
' Jealousies that might plunge the two
' Nations into a fresh *War*; therefore, in
' order to secure the Peace, and satisfy his
' *Highness*; the *High* and *Mighty Lords*, the
' *States* of *Holland*, promise never to chuse
' the *Prince* of *Orange*, nor any of his Des-
' cendants, for their *Governour* or *Admi-
' ral*; and that this *Province* will never
' suffer any of her Members to give their
' Vote for making the *Prince*, *Captain Gene-
' ral* of the *Republic*.

When *Monsieur De Wit*, sent the Ratification to *London*, he carried his Dissimulation so far, as to conjure the *Dutch Embassadors* to make all possible Instances with *Cromwell*, to recede from his Demand of the Exclusion. *You cannot do the Province a greater Service*, says He, in his Letter to *Van Beverning* and *Nieuport*, *than to find an Expedient to prevent the delivering of the Act of Exclusion, which has been obtained with the utmost Difficulty, and to which the States would never have consented, but for the sake of avoiding the dire Calamities of War.*

CROMWELL died in September 1658, and *CHARLES II*; Uncle to the Prince of Orange, was restored to the Throne of Great Britain, in 1660. Had the *States of Holland* and *Monsieur De Wit* been sincere, now was the Time to repeal the Resolutions taken in Prejudice of the young Prince. The King of England, desired It; and They run the Hazard of incurring the *dire Calamities of War* by a Refusal. But *De Wit*, who had now thrown off the Mask; not only hindred the *States of Holland* from complying with the Instances of *CHARLES II*, but induced them in 1667, to enact and swear to the Observation of the perpetual *Edict*, which annihilated the
Stadt-

Stadtholdership for ever, (a) There was not less Art made use of upon this Occasion, than had been employed in 1654, to procure the Ratification of the Treaty made with *Cromwell*. But the Time drew very near, when *Monfieur de Wit* was to repent the Success of his own Management. LEWIS XIV, KING of FRANCE, having invaded the *United Provinces* in 1672, the Rapidity of his Victories threatned the *Republic* with immediate Ruin. In this Distress the People turn their Eyes to the Young PRINCE of ORANGE; the *States* are forced by the necessity of their Affairs to make Him their *Captain General*; He is succesful in his first Enterprises, and contrary to all Expectation stops the Torrent of the French Arms; *Messieurs De Wit*, are massacred by the enraged Populace at the *Hague*; The perpetual *Edict* is revoked; the Prince is created *Stadtholder*, and that *Dignity* made hereditary in his Family.

What has been said of the *Princes* of *Orange*, and the *Earl of Licester*, contains in a Manner the entire History of the *Stadtholdership*, from the Formation of the *Republic*. The Abuses of that Office may also

(a) See the *Edict* at large, *Annales des Provinces Unies* par *Bassnage*, Fol. 826.

be gathered from the preceding Pages. It remains only to give the Reader a more precise Idea of the Authority and Privileges annexed to It by the Constitution.

When the EARL of LEICESTER came into the United Provinces, *The STATES GENERAL* invested him with the *supream Command* of their Forces, both by Sea and Land, as well as with an absolute Authority for the Direction and Management of all Affairs that related to the Army and Navy. Besides this, They entrusted Him with the Administration and Direction of their civil Policy, and Courts of Justice, to be by Him administred as the preceding Governours of the Low Countries had lawfully done, especially in the Time of Charles V.

The Oath which PRINCE MAURICE took at his Entrance into this Employment, was conceived in the following Terms. ‘ I promise and swear to the CONFEDERATE STATES of the LOW COUNTRIES, in the Defence of the *reformed Religion*, and namely to the *high and low Nobility*, and to the Magistrates of the Towns of *Holland*, and *Westfrizeland*, who represent the States of those Nations, to be to Them, faithful and obedient, and that I will obey, and will so provide, that the Officers of the Army, the Captains, and others who are subject to our Command, do obey the *Laws and Ordinances* of

‘ of the *confederate States* in general, and particularly *Those of Holland*. (a)

It appears from hence, that the *Stadtholder* was under a double Obligation, first to obey the *States general* in such Things as respected the *War*, and the common Interests of the *Confederacy*; and secondly, to obey more particularly the *States of Holland*, composed of the *Nobility*, with the *Magistrates* of the *Towns*, and also to take care that others should obey Them. In his Instructions, it was amongst other Things stipulated, that he should defend, maintain and extend the Right of the public Authority, the *Laws*, and the *common Prosperity*. The *Souldiers* took a parallel Oath to the *States*, and obeyed *Prince Maurice* in all that regarded the *War*.

The *STADTHOLDER*, in other Respects, had no Power either to levy or discharge the *Troops*. This was left entirely to the *States*, who indeed consulted their *General*, but were in no degree obliged to follow his Council, or defer to his Advice; nor had He any Power over the Payment of the Forces. They likewise reserved it to themselves, to put *Governours* into their *Frontier Towns*; but

(a) See Chap. xi. of *Grotius's Apol.*

other *Officers* were chosen by the *Stadtholder*, from a double Nomination of the *States*. During the Campaign indeed, the *General* fill'd up all Posts that became vacant, but He could neither take the *Field*, form a *Camp*, besiege an *Enemy's Town*, make an *Inroad* into his *Country*, or undertake any Thing of great Importance, without the Consent and exprefs Order of the *States general*. When he had formed any Design, which ought not to be made public, He told the *States general*, He had something to undertake, which was for the Good of the *State*, without entring into Particulars, lest the Design by being discovered might become impracticable. He described only in general Terms, the Advantages that might be-derived from It, and named in Gross, the *Expence* that it was necessary to provide for; desiring the *Assembly* to assign Him two or three Persons, to whom He might make a more particular Discovery. These were granted Him; and afterwards those *Deputies* made their Report to the *Assembly*, without entring however into the Particulars of the *Enterprize*, and when the *States* gave their Consent, the *General* prepared Himself to depart, leaving it to them to provide all that was necessary for the Undertaking. When he took Leave, They assigned Him three or four *Deputies* to represent

sent the State, and be His Councillors in the Army. In other Respects the *Stadtholder* modelled the *Council of War* at his Pleasure, and was Master of the *military Discipline*. The *States* gave their General for his military Salary, *Ten thousand Florins per Month*, to which were added *forty Thousand* for the extraordinary Expences of the *Campaign*; besides upwards of *ten Thousand* more for the Entertainment of *Spies* and other secret Services, for which he was not accountable. Since the Time of PRINCE MAURICE, and his Brother FREDERIC HENRY, there have been two STADTHOLDERS in the *United Provinces*; the PRINCES of ORANGE were at the Head of *five Provinces*, and the COUNTS of NASSAU, governed Those of *Frizeland* and *Groninghen*; but the supream Command of the *Army* belonged to the *Princes of Orange*.

The Authority of the *Stadtholder*, in his civil Capacity, was much superior to That of General, and of far greater Consequence to the State. He was CHIEF of the *Courts of Justice*, insomuch that his Name was born at the Head of all Orders and Sentences; GRAND MASTER of the *Forests*; supream CURATOR of the *University of Leyden*, and without Him they could make no Law there.

Upon any extraordinary Occasion, the STADTHOLDER appeared in the Assembly of

the *States general*, where *He had a Right to make Propositions for the public Good*; and It was usual to inform Him beforehand, what Subject was to be debated upon, both in this and the *provincial Assemblies*.

He was likewise, the Arbitrator of all Disputes that arose between the *Provinces*, by Virtue of an Article in the UNION of UTRECHT, which lodges that Right in the *Governours of Provinces*. He had the Power of *pardoning Criminals condemned to die*; and what is still of greater Importance, He had a Right of *chusing the Magistrates of Cities, upon a double Nomination of their respective Senates*; with Exception to the Town of AMSTERDAM, where He only chose the *Sheriffs*, and the Election of the *Burgomasters*, remained as It is at present, in the Hands of the *Senate*.

The PRINCES of ORANGE had considerable Possessions in the *United Provinces*, which still augmented their Authority as *Stadtholders*; but They were no where so Powerful as in ZEALAND, where of *seven Suffrages* which then composed the *States*, They were absolute Masters of Three; the first, in Quality of *primier Noble of the Province*, and the other two as *Marquisses of TERVEER and FLUSHING*.

The End of the FIRST PART.



BATAVIA ILLUSTRATA.

OR, AN

ENQUIRY

INTO THE

POLICY and COMMERCE

OF THE

UNITED PROVINCES.



PART II.







BATAVIA ILLUSTRATA

PART II.

*Of the FISHERIES, MANUFACTURIES,
and GENERAL COMMERCE of the
PROVINCE of HOLLAND.*

INTRODUCTION:



THE PROVINCE of HOLLAND, is situated from fifty one to fifty three Degrees of *North Latitude*; full of Rivers, and so extremely low and flat, that when the Tide is in, the Water is almost every where higher than

than the Land. It is impossible to enumerate the many Inconveniencies, which the Inhabitants sustain from the Neighbourhood of the Sea ; the number of their Rivers, and the Flatness of their Country. The *Winters* are long and severe, and the *Summers* short and unfruitful ; the cold Winds very often destroy the *Blossoms* of the *Spring*, and oblige them to gather the *Fruits* of *Autumn* before their Maturity. The large Dykes or Ramparts, which they throw up to keep out the Water, are an immoderate Expence to the Country ; and what is still worse, the Sea and the Ice very often cut, and break through their strongest Works, or force over them in such a Manner, that it often takes up Years to free the Country from the Inundation, and restore it to its former Circumstances. It is computed, that one Perch of a Sea-Dyke costs about *fifty Pounds Sterling* ; and in that Quarter of *Holland* called the *Rhineland*, which has but little Communication with the Sea ; Land is taxed at *forty Pence per Acre* for the first Cost of erecting the Dykes ; *thirty Pence*, for throwing or milling off the Floods, that are caused by excessive Rains ; and *twenty Pence per Acre* for keeping the Dykes, and Highways in Repair ; Besides an infinity of *Forseits*

feits, and *Chicanes* of the Collectors. So that Land is charged in this District at near nine Shillings *Sterling per Acre*, and It is still higher in *North Holland*, where I have known Proprietors that would be glad to make a Surrendry of their Lands situated in that Part of the Province, to any Person that would take Them off their Hands, or abandon them entirely if the *State* would permit It.

But this Situation, however inconvenient and unpleasant, has its Advantages with Relation to Commerce; for there being very little Land in *Holland*, and that extreamly bad, the Merchant has no Temptation to draw his Money out of Trade; which continues to accumulate from one Generation to another, and by this Means becomes so plenty, and Interest so very low, that the *Dutch* are from thence, in a great Measure enabled to sell cheaper than their Neighbours. Whereas in *England*, where there are so many Encouragements to settle in the Country, the generality of Traders are no sooner possessed of *twenty or thirty thousand Pounds*; than they begin to think of a Retreat, of Building, Planting, and other Amusements, just when their Fortune enables Them to traffick to Advantage.

HOLLAND, which is thus in a perpetual Struggle with the *Sea* and the *Rivers*, contains about four hundred thousand Acres, exclusive of the *Turf Pits*, *Wood Lands*, *Heaths* and *Marshes*. This is generally a *Sandy*, barren Soil, which cannot be improved without vast Expence, and is very unfit for Tillage. But tho' we suppose the whole well cultivated, and sowed with Wheat; allowing sixty Bushels to be the Annual Product of each Acre; we shall still find, that even this would not afford *one Pound of Bread per Diem*, to each Inhabitant. So unequal are the Productions of the Country to the Number of the People. *Monsieur De Wit*, who made his Calculation about threescore Years ago, computed the People of *Holland* at *two Millions and a Half*; and if we may allow them to have encreased one Sixth in that Time, they must now be reckoned at *three Millions*, and may be supposed, according to that great *Minister*, so renowned for his *Algebraical* Calculations, to subsist in the following Manner. (a)

(a) See *De Wit's Memoires*.

- Five hundred Thousand are employed in the several *Sea Fisheries*, including those who build the Vessels, and supply them with all manner of Necessaries; as *Rigging, Cables* and *Anchors*; with the *Barrels, Instruments, and Salt* used in that Trade. } 500000
- 2 We may reckon two hundred and fifty Thousand, employed in the *Agriculture* of the Country, and *Inland Fishery*; including those who *dig the Turf* for Firing; and those who furnish the *Nets, Instruments* and every Thing made use of in these Kinds of Labour. } 250000
- 3 Eight hundred Thousand are employed in the several *Manufactures* of the Provinces, whether for *Inland Consumption*, or *Exportation*; including the *Merchants* who deal in those *Manufactures*. } 800000
- 4 Three hundred Thousand are employed in *Building, Equipping* and *Navigating* all Kinds of Ships and trading Vessels. } 300000

18,50000

- 5 Eight hundred Thousand, in
 procuring, and furnishing all
 Things neccessary for the Sup-
 port of *Life*; *Aliments* of all
 Sorts, with *Cloaths*, *Buildings*,
Furniture, and all the long
 Train of *Conveniencies*, *Super-*
fluities and *Embellishments*. } 800000
- 6 The remaining three hundred
 and fifty Thousand, are the *Mo-*
bility; Those in *Employments*;
Lawyers; All those that live on
 their *Rents*, with their *Servants*,
 the *military Men*, and the *Poor*. } 350000

 3000000

And tho' this Calculation should be more or less erroneous, with Respect to the exact Numbers employed on each Species of Labour, yet 'tis very certain, the annual Produce of the Country is not sufficient to nourish a Tenth Part of its Inhabitants: And thus the Rest, being under a Necessity of fetching their Subsistence from Abroad, are forced to put forth all their Industry, and extend their Commerce on every Side, by which
 They

They mutually contribute to the Support and Assistance one of another.

But in order to know the several Causes which have concurred to bring so great a Number of People together, and crowd them into so narrow a Compass, It may be worth our while to go back, and take a View of the ancient State of the *European Commerce* in general.

Nothing is more certain, than that about seven hundred Years ago, Commerce was unknown in *Europe*; unless to a few Merchants in the small Republicks of *Italy*, whose Trade, except that which They carried on to *India* by the *Caravans*, was entirely confined to the *Levant*, and the *Mediterranean*: so that in every Country the Inhabitants were forced to depend upon *Agriculture* for their Subsistence; to sow and reap that They might eat; and thus in the *North* and *East*, where they had no Merchants, and consequently no foreign Commerce, the People finding their Numbers augment, and apprehending a Famine either from an unfertile Year, or a late *Harvest*, thought it proper to discharge Themselves of as Many as They could, whom they encouraged to make *Inroads* upon their Neighbours, and to establish Colonies amongst Them; which seems to have been the true Reason of

those prodigious Swarms of *Northern* People, whose Footsteps are still to be traced in *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*: in the *Provinces* on this side the *Rhine*, and in *Great Britain*. These People were at their Height about a Thousand Years after our SAVIOUR, and 'tis certain they knew very little of Commerce. Money was not invented, or made the *Standard* of Value amongst Them. They exchanged their Superfluities with each other by way of *Barter*. We are told two *Pullets* were given for a *Goose*; Two *Geese* for a young *Hog*; three *Lambs* for a *Sheep*; and three *Calves* for a *Cow*. The Exchange of one sort of *Grain* for another, had also its established Proportion; insomuch that 'twas commonly known what Quantity of *Oats* should be given for such a Quantity of *Barley*; what *Barley* for *Rye*; and how much of This answered to so much *Wheat*. And unless it was in *Provisions*, and such Things as served the *Necessities* of Life, there was no Commerce at all.

The FLEMMINGS, who are the nearest Neighbours of FRANCE, and inhabit a fertile and pleasant Country, were the First that invented the Art of fabricating Stuffs; which augmented extreamly under BALDWIN EARL of FLANDERS, who in the Year 960, invented and established *annual Fairs* in the Towns

Towns of the *Low Countries*, with an *Exemption* from all *Duties of Importation or Exportation*, and all *Impositions* whatever; by which the *Commerce* of this Country was extremely augmented, and continued to encrease for three hundred Years together, till the Invention of public Halls and Companies, where under the Pretence of examining if the Merchandizes were not Counterfeit, They made Attempts to confine the Manufactures to the *Cities*. But as all Constraint is hurtful to Commerce, so This produced a quite different Effect, and drove the *Manufacturers* into the *Villages*, from whence They were again forced to remove, by the *War* that broke out afterwards between *France* and *Flanders*, which obliged Them at last to sit down at *Louvain*, and *Tirlemont*, in *Brabant*. But it seems They were not better treated here, and the Examinations They underwent at the *public Halls*, with the high Imposts laid upon Them, soon occasioned a very great Revolution in Commerce. For these Vexations having caused a Sedition in *Ghent*, which ended in the Murder of two *Sheriffs* and eleven of the principal Inhabitants; and parallel Comotions happening afterwards at *Bruges*, where no less than fifteen Thousand Inhabitants were left dead on the Spot, and again at *Ipres* in 1301, upon the same Occasion.

where the whole SENATE was massacred ; Many of the guilty Workmen took Refuge in ENGLAND ; where They introduced the first Knowledge of *Drapery* ; and others established Themselves in the Countries on each Side the *Maese*, particularly at *Leyden*, in the Province of *Holland*.

Before this Time, in the Year 1200, the GERMAN KNIGHTS of the CRUSADE, under Pretext of converting the PAGANS, had conquered several Countries, some of which situated on the River *Loder*, being barren and unfertile, They left to the *Profelitte Princes* ; but reserved the fruitful Countries of PRUSSIA and LIVONIA, with the Rivers *Wesel*, *Progol*, and *Down*, which made Them Masters of all the Produce of POLAND, LITHUANIA, and MUSCOVY : and from this Time the great eastern Towns which lay nearest Them, began to take off the gross Commodities of Those Countries ; which they again transported into the *Netherlands*, and to *France*, *England*, *Spain*, and *Italy* ; from whence they brought back what They had most Occasion for.

Afterwards in 1360, when the *War* between SWEDEN and DENMARK, had very much reduced the maritime Power of those Crowns ; Sixty six great eastern Towns entered into an Association, for the Defence and Protection of Navigation and Commerce.

The

The principal of These were *Hamburg*, *Dantzick*, *Lubeck*, *Frankfort*, *Leipsick*, and *Bremen*. They were called *Hanse Towns*, and by engrossing the eastern Trade, became Masters of the SEA, and consequently of COMMERCE; in which Posture they maintained themselves till the Year 1400, when the Method of *salt-ing Herrings*, being invented in *Holland*, and this Fishery added to the Manufactures of that Province, the *Dutch Commerce* then began to exceed that of the HANSE TOWNS, and continued to encrease every Day by their maritime Trade with BRUGES; till 1482, when the *Flemmings* made War with the ARCH-DUKE MAXIMILIAN, for the Guardianship of his Son, and the Administration of the Countries that belonged to Him. This War lasted ten Years, and very much affected SLUICE, the Sea-port of BRUGES, which those of ANTWERP and AMSTERDAM perceiving, and being ready to procure their own Advantage at the Expence of BRUGES, They assisted the ARCH-DUKE in all his ruinous and unjust Designs, by which they at last gained their End, and divided the Commerce of that Town.

Now commenced that vast Trade at *Antwerp*, which for more than an Age together made it the Envy of *Europe*. The ITALIANS having brought *Silk-worms* from PERSIA

and CHINA, began to make considerable Quantities of Silks, with the Production of those Insects, which they consigned for Sale to this City ; and the *East* and *West Indies* being discovered about the same Time, the SPANIARDS and PORTUGUESE brought hither all their Spices, and the ENGLISH, who since the Flemish Drapers settled amongst Them, had struck into the woollen Manufactuary, kept their Warehouses at ANTWERP likewise ; which thus became the most flourishing Town for Trade in the Universe. They established several silk Manufactures, and had Numbers of Ships continually running between *France*, *Spain*, *Italy* and *England*. This Town however, as well as the Rest of *Brabant*, and *Flanders*, was situated at too great a Distance from the Sea, to admit carrying on the *Herring* and *Cod Fisheries*, with the other Branches of Commerce in general, to so great Advantage as in *Holland*. The People of the *Baltick* had their Magazines at *Antwerp* amongst the Rest: but as on the one Side, They had more Occasion for the *Dutch Cod* and *Herrings*, than for the fine *Italian Goods* ; so the *Hollanders* took off far greater Quantities of their *Corn*, and other Productions of the *East*, than the *Antwerpers* had Occasion for.

Upon

Upon this Footing Commerce continued till the Year 1585, that *Antwerp* was taken by the DUKE of PARMA. For the King of SPAIN, willing to weaken a City that was too powerful for Him, by dividing Its Commerce and spreading it into other Towns, neglected to open the SCHELD, by reducing the *Zealanders*, whilst He had it in his Power; and ANTWERP having no Communication with the SEA, but by that River, the Merchants began to retire from thence, and settle Themselves at AMSTERDAM, which was already the most considerable trading Town of the *United Provinces*. The Persecution in the *Low Countries* on Account of Religion, and the War then carried on by Spain against France, England, and the *United Provinces*, by which PHILIP II, was at last so reduced, that He was no longer Master of the Sea, nor in a Condition to protect the Navigation of his Subjects, compleated the Ruin of Commerce in the *Spanish Netherlands*. The Question, was whither the Traders should retire. ZEALAND was their nearest Neighbour, but the Inclemency of the Seasons in those Islands, especially to the North, where the Winters are long and tempestuous, added to the Difficulty of transporting their Merchandizes into the neighbouring Countries, were Reasons against their settling there. In FRANCE and

ENGLAND, *Liberty of Conscience* was not permitted, and the Duties of Importation on foreign Commodities were very high. A third Part of the Manufactures however, fell to the Share of *England*, where the FLEMINGS then introduced the *Damasks*, *Serges*, and *Bays*. The *Fisheries* fell to *Holland* entirely, with the *Linnen Manufactuary*, which settled it self at HARLEM; and Part of the *Drapery*, which became fixed at LEYDEN.



SECT



S E C T. I.

O F T H E

D U T C H F I S H E R I E S.



BEFORE we enter into a Detail of the *Dutch Trade* in general, It will be proper to take a View of their *Fisheries*, and *Manufactures*; which were the original Sources, and are now the Support of all their vast Navigation and Commerce. The *Dutch Historian* EMANUEL VAN METEREN, informs us that in 1610, there went from *Holland* fifteen hundred Busses or small Vessels, upon the *Herring Fishery*; and our Countryman Sir WALTER RALEIGH, who was employed by KING JAMES I, to enquire into it, made his Report to Him, that

that in the same Year 1610, the *Dutch* had no less than three Thousand Vessels employed in the *Herring Fishery* only. But in This He contradicts *Van Meteren*; and indeed considering how great a Lover Sir WALTER was of Commerce, we cannot wonder if He exaggerated the Account, in order to rouse up the supine Temper of the *King*, and inspire Him with an Emulation, which *Count Gondemar* the *Spanish* Minister knew but too well how to suppress. It is impossible to name the exact Number of Vessels the *Dutch* now employ on this *Fishery*, which vary every Year; but by all I could observe when in *Holland*, and all I was able to learn, I have Reason to believe the *Busses* employed to take Herrings, do not exceed *eight Hundred, communibus Annis*; but these are from *thirty to fifty Tuns*, whereas in the Time of *Van Meteren*, They were only from *twenty to thirty Tuns*; so that tho' the Number of Vessels now employed be not so great, yet this is more than made up in their Size, and there is, I believe, a greater Quantity of Fish taken at present, more Hands than ever employed, and a proportionable Consumption of every Thing that depends on this Fishery. The Importance of the *Herring Trade*, will best appear to Us, if we consider how many
different

different Parts of Commerce It gives Motion to; and how great a Number of People depend on each of them. In the first Instance, we may reckon those Merchants who send Numbers of Ships every Year to the *North*, to bring Home the *Timber*, and other Materials employed in the first Construction and annual Repair of the *Busses*; with the several Trades that depend on the fitting out these Vessels, and the *Seamen* that navigate them: To these must be added all those employed in Building and Repairing the *Busses*; the *Carpenters*, *Caulkers*, *Smiths*, *Ropemakers*, and *Sailmakers*; with the *Coopers*, who make the prodigious Number of Casks used for *Package* of the *Herrings*; the *Net-Makers*, and all other little Trades who furnish the several *Instruments* necessary in the *Manufactory*; nor must we forget the great Quantity of *Salt* used in curing the *Herrings*, of which there is so prodigious a Consumption, that this Article alone employs several hundred Sail of Ships, who fetch it every Year from the Coast of *France*, and other Parts, and employ in their Turn the several Trades before enumerated. To these must be added the vast Number of Persons employed in Navigating the *Busses*, and in taking, dressing,
and

and packing the *Herrings*; with the Ships that afterwards transport Them from *Holland* almost into every Part of *Europe*. All which being computed, we may venture to affirm, that a thousand *Busses* sent out upon this Fishery, give Employment and Subsistence to *thirty thousand Families* at least, not including that vast Number of People, who get their Living by the necessary Consumption of all Kinds of *Cloathing*, and *Provisions*, that They Occasion.

There are two Seasons for the *Herring Fishery*, the first of which continues for a Month or five Weeks, on the Coast of *Scotland*, from the latter End of *June*, to the latter End of *July*; and the Second holds from the Middle of *September*, to the latter End of *November*, on the Coast of *England*, about *Tarmouth* and *Loestaff*. Perhaps Sir WALTER RALEIGH'S Error, if It were so, was occasioned by first taking the Number of *Busses* employed on the *Scotch Coast*, and adding Them to those afterwards seen on the coasts of *England*; whereas They are in Reality the very same Vessels that freight Themselves first from the Sholes They find on the Coast of *Scotland*, and afterwards make two Trips to that of *England*, in the second Season; so that each *Buss* usually brings

brings Home three Cargoes of *Herrings* in one Year.

After what has been said, It will not appear strange, that the *States General*, should have been always very assiduous to procure the necessary Grants from *Great Britain*, for fishing on our Coasts ; and to have this Right garranteed to Them, by Those whom They thought best able to protect Them in it ; but how far We may have complied with their earnest Desires in this Point, and how far it may have been garranteed by *France*, or what Right that *Crown* had to enter into such a *Garrantee*, will very naturally fall under our Enquiry in the third Part of this Discourse. 'Tis certain the *States* have neglected nothing at Home, that could possibly bring this Manufactory to Perfection : There are an infinite Number of *Placarts* or *Ordinances*, that regulate the Times and Order of Fishing, and are so many Directions for the Methods of curing and packing the *Herrings* ; all which it would be very necessary for any Set of Men to understand that may attempt this Fishery.

After That of the HERRINGS, the COD FISHERY is of the greatest Importance to the DUTCH, who take a vast Quantity of these Fish on the *Dogger Bank*, a Sand of a considerable Extent in the *North Sea*, on which there is a proper Depth of Water for the
Fishermen.

Fishermen. They generally employ every Year two or three hundred Vessels in this Service, which are from *Forty* to *Sixty* Tuns, and are called *Doggers* from the Place where They take their *Fish*. It would be unnecessary to enumerate the Advantages reaped from this *Fishery*, which are the same in Proportion with Those derived from the *Herrings*. The constant Sale of the vast Quantity of *Fish* the *Hollanders* salt up, is secured, by the Religion of some of the circumjacent Countries, and the Scarcity of Provisions, or the Poverty of the Inhabitants in others. In the *Asiatick Netherlands*; a great Part of *Germany*, *France* *Spain*, and *Italy*; the People are obliged to abstain from Flesh, for at least one fourth Part of the Year. It is the same with Those of *POLAND*, who are supplied with their *Fish* from *Dantzick*; and the other People of the *Baltick* take off great Quantities; so that these Commodities always come to a ready Market, which is the Point of greatest Consideration in Commerce.

The *GREENLAND FISHERY* employs about Two hundred Sail of Ships every Year, from Two Hundred and Fifty, to four hundred Tuns. This Trade however

ever, is thought to be a Kind of *Lottery*, and is therefore undertaken by Persons of overgrown Fortunes, who if They fail this Year, expect better Luck the next, and do not feel the Disappointment ; but it is of undoubted and universal Benefit to the *State* in general, as it promotes the Encrease of Navigation, and the Consumption of every thing that depends on it.

The *Inland Fishery* is likewise of very great Importance to the *Dutch*. Their Lakes and Rivers afford Them almost all Kinds of fresh Water *Fish* ; and those that are proper to the *Sea*, are taken on every Part of their Coast, with which their Markets are supplied in the greatest Plenty and Perfection ; and what is more than sufficient for the Home Consumption, is pickled up, and added to their *Cod* and *Herrings*, for Exportation. It may be expected perhaps, that I should indicate the exact Quantities of *Fish* that the *Dutch* export annually ; but This is impossible, because not only the Number of Vessels they employ in *Fishing* is various in different Years, but their Success is uncertain, and 'tis usual enough to take twice the Quantity in one Year, that They do in another. Sir WALTER RALEIGH has affirmed indeed, but upon what Grounds

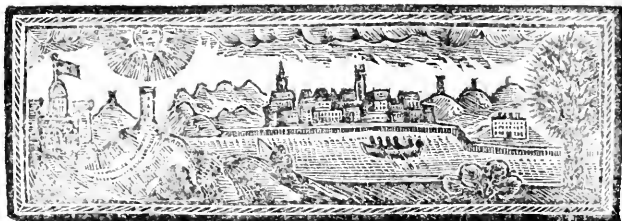
Grounds I know not, that the *Dutch* exported annually no less than *three hundred Thousand Tuns of salted Fish, of one Kind or another*. GERARD MALINES has some where or other said the same Thing; and MONSIEUR DE WIT, who was fond enough of magnifying every Thing that might reflect any Honour on his Country, quotes both these Authors in his *Memoires*, and infers, that in his Time, there must be a great deal more than *three hundred thousand Tuns* exported yearly from *Holland*, because the *Dutch* Commerce in general was augmented one third since the Year 1610, when Sir *Walter Raleigh* wrote. For my own Part, It becomes me to have all manner of Deference for Sir *Walter Raleigh*, but unless we can allow that the *Dutch* sent out *three Thousand Vessels annually upon the Herring Fishery*; that these Vessels made constantly *three Voyages in the Year*; and that every Voyage They caught their entire Loading of Herrings, the Computation cannot be just. But as to the first of These, *Van Meteren*, who was a Dutchman, speaking of the Year 1610, which Sir *Walter* instances in his Representation to KING JAMES, fixes the Number of Vessels employed in this *Fishery* at about *fifteen Hundred*. And for the last, If we consider how precarious a Trade

Trade *Fishing* is, We shall find it hard to believe that SIR WALTER'S *three thousand Vessels*, should never fail to take their *full Cargoes three Times a Year*. In short, if the Thing could be ascertained, *Monsieur De Wit*, who could not want Information, would not have omitted to have given his own Authority for it.



T

SECT



S E C T. II.

O F T H E

D U T C H M A N U F A C T U R E S,

And the distinct

B R A N C H E S o f C O M M E R C E,

Peculiar to the several

T O W N S

O F T H E

P R O V I N C E o f H O L L A N D.



WE have already observed, that upon the taking of *Antwerp* by the DUKE of PARMA, in the Year 1585, the Merchants and Manufacturers, who made up the Trading Body of that opulent City, began to remove

move from thence, and settle themselves in *England*, and the *United Provinces*. The *Drapers* that went to *Holland*, incorporated themselves with those whom they found already established at *Leyden*; but the Bulk of the Merchants and general Traders sat down at *Amsterdam*, which for some Time, had been the most considerable Town for Trade of all the *Seven Provinces*, and now began to triumph in the Spoils of *Antwerp*. The *Woollen* and *Linnen Manufactures* were brought to a tolerable Perfection in all their several Branches; which, with the Fisheries mentioned in the preceding Section, continued to be the principal Employments of the *Dutch*, from 1585 to 1648, when they were acknowledged a free and independant People by the SPANIARD, and the Treaty of MUNSTER concluded upon that Footing, between the CROWN of SPAIN and the Republic of the *United Provinces*. Hitherto the *Hollanders* had carried on a free and open Trade to *France*, from whence they brought all the fine Mercery Goods they had Occasion for; as *Velvets*, *Silks* of all Kinds, *Gold* and *Silver Stuffs*, and several other Manufactures, which were not yet practised in the *Seven Provinces*. But Misunderstandings arising between the two Nations upon the Treaty of

Munster, the *French* began to make Encroachments on the *Dutch Trade*; and refused to renew the ancient Treaties of Commerce. *Piracies* were committed on the *Hollanders* by their *Privateers* in the *Mediterranean*, and elsewhere, and a new Duty of *fifty Sols per Tun* was laid on all foreign Ships trading to the *French Ports*. This Interruption to Trade on the part of *France*, first inspired the *Hollanders* with the Design of setting up in their own Country, the several Manufactures that were then peculiar to that Kingdom: Yet they left Nothing unattempted to restore the Freedom of Commerce, and re-establish the Harmony that had hitherto subsisted between the two Nations.

Eleven Years from the Peace of *MUNSTER*, were already taken up in fruitless Attempts, and Negotiations, to this Purpose, when in 1659, *MONSIEUR BOREEL*, the *Dutch Ambassador* at the Court of *France*, prevailed with the united Body of Merchants at *Paris*, to make a Representation to their Court, of the great Quantity of *French Merchandize* that was yearly exported to *Holland*; and *BOREEL* affirmed, that in Case the new Duties laid on Dutch Goods and Shipping, coming into *France*, were continued, the *STATES GENERAL* would

would be obliged to Charge *French Commodities* imported into the *Seven Provinces*, in the same Proportion. This Representation had its Effect on the *Court of France*, and in 1662, a Treaty was made between that *Crown* and the *States General*, which was succeeded by a new *Tariff* in 1664, that set aside the Duty of *fifty Sols per Tun*, and established Commerce on the ancient Footing. But this good Intelligence did not last long; and in 1667, the *French* encreased the Imposts on foreign Merchandize, without any Regard to the Treaty they had made but five Years before. The War which broke out between *France* and the *United Provinces* in 1672, put an entire Stop to open Trade between the two Nations, and animated the *Dutch*, in the Resolution They had taken to set up Manufactures at Home, for the Goods They used to bring from *France*; in which They succeeded so well, that when that War was ended by the Peace of NIMEGHEN, in 1678, and a Treaty of Commerce concluded at the same Time, between *France*, and the *Republic*, which set aside the *Tariff* of 1667, and restored That of 64 in Favour of the *Dutch*, yet it was immediately found that French Goods bore no Price at *Amsterdam*; upon which a very ingenious

nious Author has left us this Observation,
*That Commerce once destroyed never recovers
 It self.*

There continued, however, to be some
 Importation of *French Manufactures* into
Holland 'till the Year 1690, when *War*
 between *France* and the *Republic* broke out
 with more Violence than ever, and was at-
 tended with the severest Prohibitions of
 Commerce. This obliged the *Dutch* to
 apply themselves to their Manufactures,
 with double Industry, which They now
 brought to so good a Perfection, that not-
 withstanding Peace was restored to *Europe*,
 by the Treaty of RESWICK in 1697, and a
 Treaty of Commerce concluded between
France and the *United Provinces*, which
 once more annihilated the Tariff of 1667,
 and the Duty of fifty *Sols*, with all the
 other vexatious Edicts that then interrupt-
 ed the *Dutch Trade* to *France*; and restor-
 ed the Tariff of 64; the *Hollanders* found
 themselves in a Condition to carry on
 their Commerce almost entirely with their
 own Manufactures. *Velvets*, *Satins*, and
 other *Silks*; *Gold* and *Silver Brocades*; *Rib-
 bons* of all Kinds; *Lace*, *Paper*, &c. were
 now fabricated in *Holland*, and sold *Twenty
 per Cent.* cheaper than in *France*, and if
 the *Silks* were not quite so beautiful as
 Those

Those of *Tours* and *Lions*, the Difference in the Price was more than answerable to that of the *Commodity*; and the *French* had the Mortification to see their Trade to *Holland* very much diminished, or rather destroy'd, in all the above-mention'd Articles

Nothing contributed more to bring these Manufactures to a Perfection in *Holland*, than the Number of *French Refugees*, who fled thither from the Persecutions raised against all those of the reformed Religion in *France*, and were received by the *Dutch* with great Humanity. CARDINAL RICHLIEU had broke the Strength of the *Hugonots*, by the taking of ROCHELLE in 1627, who from the Year 1562, upon the Infraction of the Edict published in their Favour by *Charles the Ninth*, immediately after the famous Conference of *Poissy*, had supported Themselves in ten different Wars against the *Crown of France*; but were so effectually reduced by the Loss of *Rochelle*, and the Calamities that followed upon it, that when upon the Death of MAZARINE in 1661, LEWIS XIV, took the Government of his Kingdom into his own Hands, He saw Himself in a Capacity of driving Them out of *France* by the Authority of his Edicts alone, who for an Age together, had maintained Themselves against all the

Force of his Predecessors, backed with all the Subtlety and Aid of the *Church of Rome*, which was unalterably bent for their Destruction. The *Protestants* thus reduced, and persecuted, had for Thirty Years together fled in great Numbers out of *France*, and were well received and encouraged in several Countries, particularly in *England*, the *Protestant Cantons of Switzerland*, and the *United Provinces*; and being for the most part *Merchants* and *Artizans*, They applied Themselves readily to *Commerce* and *Manufactures*, and were very instrumental in bringing Those of *Holland* to Perfection.

EUROPE had scarce tasted the Effects of the Peace made at RESWICK, when upon the Death of CHARLES II, KING of SPAIN, It was again plunged in a bloody and obstinate War. LEWIS XIV, set up his Grandson the DUKE of ANJOU to be KING of SPAIN, grounding his Title upon the Will of the deceased Prince; which being controverted by the EMPEROR, the *second grand Alliance* was form'd at the HAGUE September 1701, in Consequence of which the *United Provinces* declared War against *France* in the subsequent Year, which lasted till 1713, when Peace was again restored between the two Nations by the *Treaty of Utrecht*, and the *Tariff* of 64 once more revived. It will be more particularly

particularly our Business in the Sequel, to examine the present State of the Trade between *France* and *Holland*; and In the Mean Time, It cannot be improper to mention the several Branches of Commerce peculiar to each Town of that Province.

LEYDEN is in the Possession of the *Woollen Manufactory*, which is carried on there, in all its Branches of *broad* and *narrow Cloath*, *Camblets*, *Serges*, *Druggets*, &c.

The *University* of this Place, was erected by the *States of Holland*, in 1575, in Gratitude for the Vigorous Resistance made by the Town against the *Spaniards* in the foregoing Year. We are told, the People of *Leyden* endured the most cruel Extremities of *War* and *Famine*, with a *Constancy* hardly to be paralleled; the PRINCE of ORANGE had lost all Hopes of raising the Siege, and the City was upon the Point of becoming a Prey to a merciless *Enemy*, when by cutting their *Dykes* at a Time when the Wind favoured the Design, the Meadows and low Lands about the Town, were covered in an Instant, with a Deluge of Water, which so amazed the SPANIARDS, that They abandoned the Siege with Precipitation, leaving their Baggage and the wounded behind them.

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The UNIVERSITY has three *Curators*, who are such for Life; one of These is of the Colledge of NOBLES and elected by Them. The other Two, who are either Members of the *Town Senates*, or the *Courts of Justice*, are chosen by the STATES of HOLLAND; and these *Gentlemen*, in Conjunction with the BURGOMASTERS of LEYDEN, are charged with every Thing that regards the Advantage and Prosperity of the *Univerſity*. Besides these three *Curators*, there is the RECTOR MAGNIFICUS, who Presides at the Head of the *Academical Senate*, which is invested with the Power of Judging all Causes both *civil* and *criminal* in the *laſt Reſort*, and all Members of the *Univerſity* whose Names are regiſtred in the *Rec-tor's Books*, depend on his Jurisdiction.

In the CITY of HARLEM, besides all the *ſine Linnen* which is wove in the Place, They draw vaſt Quantities from the Neighbouring Provinces of *Groninghen*, *Frizeland*, and *Over-yſſel*; from the Country of *Cleve*, and even from *Sileſia*; all which is bleached at *Har-lem*, and there receives that beautiful *White*, which is ſo generally admired, and makes the *Dutch Linnen* more Valuable than any in the World. To this we muſt add *Velvets*, plain and flowered; *Gold* and *Silver Stuffs*, rich and light *Silks* of many Kinds, *Gauzes*, &c.

DELFT

DELFT is famous for the fine *earthen Ware* which bears the Name of that City, and is made in Imitation of CHINA: Here are likewise a few *Clothiers*, who employ Themselves in the *Woollen Manufactory*; and a great many *Brewers* who make a vast Quantity of Beer, which is consumed in the circumjacent Villages.

The delightful City of ROTTERDAM is in Possession of the Trade to GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, almost to the Exclusion of all the Rest. Her Commerce to FRANCE is likewise very considerable, and much superior to that of any other Town in the *Province*; She also drives a considerable Trade to the *East and West Indies*, and to the *Levant, Italy, Spain, and Portugal*.

The ancient Town of DORT, was formerly famous for the *English Trade*, as it is now for *Rhenish Wine*, which is brought down the *Rhine* by a very cheap and commodious Transport; to which we must add a vast Quantity of *Timber*, which is sent from GERMANY, in Floats down that River, directly to this City, from whence it is afterwards distributed to *Sardam, Rotterdam*, and other Parts of the *Province*. The best *Linnen Thread* is spun here; They have several Refineries for *Salt*; now and then

then an *English Ship* unloads at *Dort*, and the *Magistrates* omit Nothing that may possibly encourage our Country-men to return thither, but at present there is no Appearance that ever They will recover the *English Trade* from *Rotterdam*.

I know of Nothing manufactured at *Ter-gow*, except *Cordage* and *Pipes*, of both which there is a very great Consumption, and their *Pipes* are the neatest in *Europe*.

AMSTERDAM is the Glory of *HOLLAND*, and the *Wonder* of the *World*. This City alone, is in the Possession of half that immense Trade which the *Dutch* carry on to the *East Indies*, and governs the Whole. Her Commerce with *Spain*, and the *Spanish West Indies*, is very great, nor is it less considerable to the *Levant*, *Italy*, and *Portugal*. *Amsterdam* alone ingrosses the whole *Eastern Trade*, which the *Dutch* carry on to *Norway*, and all the Countries situated on the *BALTICK*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Pomerania*, *Livonia*, *Polish-Prussia*, and *Muscovy*, together with the greatest Part of *Germany*. Navigation and general Commerce, from this City to *France* and *England* are not very great; but the Correspondence between the *Bankers* of *Amsterdam*, and those of *London*, and *Paris*, in the Business of *Exchange*, and that sort of Traffick that depends on *Banking*,

ing, is highly considerable. In short, *Amsterdam* has her Share in all the Business that is done in *Europe*, and all the trading World.

To this prodigious Extent of foreign Commerce, we must add the *Manufactures* already ascribed to the several Towns above-mentioned; all of which, with Exception only to the *Delft Ware*, are more or less practised in this powerful and opulent City. A Multitude of Hands are employed in all Kinds of *Tapestry*; there are Numbers of MILLS for sawing all sorts of *Wood* into different *Dimensions*. Others to work and polish *Marble*; Mills for making *Gunpowder*; for grinding *Snuff*; and for drawing *Oyl* from *Seed*. There are REFINERIES for *Sugar*, *Salt*, *Cinnamon*, *Camphire*, *Borax*, *Sulpher*, *yellow Wax*, &c. And as *Huetius* observes, One may apply to *Amsterdam*, what *VOPISCUS* said of *Alexandria*, after he had summed up the *Manufactures* practised there. ‘ That all
‘ its Inhabitants followed some Trade, that
‘ the *Lame* and the *Gouty* were employed,
‘ and even Those who had the *Gout* in their
‘ *Hands*, did not sit idle.

After what has been said, it may not be improper to enquire what Reasons might probably induce the *Merchants* to settle in this City upon their leaving *ANTWERP*, preferably

ably to any other Town of the Province. The PORT of AMSTERDAM, which is the *Texel*, is not only the worst of all *Holland*, but perhaps of the World, and it may be said with great Confidence, there is no trading Place of any Importance, where the *loading* and *discharging* of Ships is performed with so much Hazard, and Difficulty. Between the *City* and the *Texel*, lies a large Sand called the POMPUS, on which there is so little Water, that the Merchants are obliged to send their Ships light into the *Texel*, where they take in their Cargoes, from Vessels of a small Draught, and in the same manner homeward bound Ships are obliged to anchor and continue there, till the same Kind of *Lighters* can be sent down from the *City*, into which they discharge Themselves. And besides the Delay and Expence occasioned by this, the *Texel* is at the same Time one of the most dangerous *Roads* in *Europe*; and Ships are frequently wrecked whilst they wait there for *Lighters* to unload into: From whence we may observe, that the Nature of the *Port* has little or no Influence upon Commerce, since this *City* has at once the worst Harbour with the most extensive Trade. But if the Sea-Port of *Amsterdam* be bad; when once Goods are lodged in the *Ware-house*, there is no Place so advantageously situated for the Sale of them.

This

This will be evident, when we consider that almost every Wind serves to carry small Vessels of Transport in a few Hours, to and from the Provinces of *Friezland*, *Overyssel* and *Gelderland*, and to all the Towns of *North-Holland*, without depending on the Tide, or any other Flux or Current. And as it is a Maxim in Commerce, and I believe may hold Good in every thing else, *that the View of a certain Profit is to be preferred to that of an uncertain Loss*: 'tis no wonder that the Merchants should be tempted to sit down here, to overlook the Dangers of the *Texel*, and forget the Losses they sometimes sustain, for the sake of the other Conveniences, which this City affords them preferable to any other; as in Reality there is no Town in the *Universe*, where all Kinds of Commodities find so sure and quick a Market as at *Amsterdam*.

I shall conclude what I have to say of this Town, with some Account of its BANK, erected in the Year 1609; A Subject, I think, that no Writer has yet touch'd upon, or very slightly. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, contents Himself to mention only *two* Circumstances, as Causes of the great Credit this Bank has obtained in *Europe*, which are *the strong Situation of Amsterdam*, and *the independant Sovereignty*, that every Town of *Holland* enjoys, by the Constitution

stitution of the Province: but He is not pleased to say a Word, either of its exterior or interior Government, which I am the more surprized at, as *Sir William* appears every where fond enough of unveiling the *Arcana Imperii* of the *Dutch*. Therefore it will not be improper for me to bespeak the Candour of the Reader, whilst I give Him the best Accompt I can of so delicate and mysterious a Subject.

The strong Situation of *Amsterdam*, seconded by all the Advantages that Art can furnish, secures the Town against the Attempts of an Enemy from without; and the popular Government places the Force and Power of the City in the Hands of *Her proper Magistrates*, who may be supposed too much interested in the Happiness and Grandeur of *Amsterdam*, to with a Revolution, or to be capable of using their Authority for its Destruction, instead of its Defence.

I am ready to confess that these Circumstances ought naturally to procure a very great Credit to the Bank; but they are still insufficient to make Money deposited there, of greater Value than That which a Man keeps in his own Cabinet; which is in Reality the Case, however, and Bank Money is worth a great deal more in *Holland* than *Current*.

This is expressed by the Word *Agio*, a Term made ute of to denote the Difference
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of the real Value, between *Bank* and *common Specie*.

In 1690, the *Agio* rose to *seventeen per Cent.* on account of a *base* Coinage then made current, which being afterwards reduced to near the *intrinsick Value*, the *Agio* has since been generally from *Four* and a *Half*, to *Five* and a *Half*, and sometimes even *Six per Cent*; Part of which may be accounted for thus. A *Ducatoon* passes for *sixty three Pence* in *current* Payment, but when paid into the *Bank*, it is only received for *sixty Pence*, or three *Guilders*, which is its *Intrinsick Value*; the odd three Pence having been added to it, to answer the *Charges of the Mint*. In the same manner *Wedges*, *Bars*, and *Ingots* of *Gold* and *Silver*, are received in *Bank* by their *Weight*, and the *Sum* brought to the *Account* of the *Proprietor*.

Thus then there is a real *Difference* of *five per Cent*, between *Bank* and *current Money*; but the *Agio* is usually higher, fluctuating with the *Exchange*; or to use other Words, rising and falling in *Proportion* to the *Demands* that are made on the *Bank*: So that it is not absolutely determined by the *Difference* of *intrinsick Value*, between one *Specie* and the other. This will be understood more perfectly, by observing that all *Bills of Exchange* drawn upon *Holland*, must if the

Proprietor pleases, by the Custom and Laws of the Country, be paid in *Bank*; which necessarily obliges every considerable Merchant to keep an open Account there: and thus *Bills of Exchange* drawn upon *Amsterdam* or *Rotterdam*, are after Acceptance frequently lodged in the *Bank*, and the Acceptor is obliged at the Time they become due, to make a Transfer of Bank-Stock or Bank-Money, to the Proprietor's Account, for the Amount of the Bill, which would otherwise be liable to a Protest, without ever presenting it for Payment, after it had been once accepted. Thus when large Remittances are made upon the *Bankers* of *Amsterdam*, and they are under a Necessity from thence, of having a great deal of Money in *Bank*, the *Agio* rises, and sinks in Proportion, when on the contrary, there are many Sellers, and few Buyers. But when this happens, the *Directors* have recourse to Stratagem, to keep up the Value of the *Agio*, which is done by agreeing privately, with some of the monied Men, to buy up such a Quantity of Bank Money, as answers the immediate Necessity of the Sellers; and thus Appearances are saved, and by supplying their Agents with Cash in the most secret Manner, they support the common Opinion that has so long prevailed with the People of *Holland*, and the rest of the World,

World, *that the whole Business of the BANK of AMSTERDAM is managed by TRANSFER, and that no Money is ever issued from thence upon any Occasion.*

It costs near a Pound Sterling to open an Account with the *Bank*, and six Pence for each *Transfer*, to which we may add, that there is a certain Penalty upon every Person that draws upon the *Bank*, within about two Pounds *Sterling* of the whole Money he keeps there; and the Advantage made upon all this, is applied to pay the *Clerks*, and defray other Charges; from all which it is evident, that every Proprietor pays considerably for keeping his Money in the *Bank*, instead of drawing an Interest upon it.

Without Doubt, the only Reason why Persons are contented to deposit their Money upon such Terms, is a firm Belief, that it remains *sacred, untouched, and unapplied to any Use whatsoever.* The MAGISTRATES of AMSTERDAM; all Those concerned in the *Government* of the *Bank*; and in general, the whole Body of the *seven Provinces*, take Pains to propagate this Opinion, and appear at least to be of the same Mind Themselves.

I have been informed from very good Hands, that in 1672, when LEWIS XIV, was at *Utrecht*, and there was a general Run on the *Bank of Amsterdam*, occasioned by the

universal Terror, and Apprehension, that all Men lay under from the near Approach of the *French* Troops ; the *Magistrates* took some of the most considerable, and most popular of Those who talked loudest, and offered to convince them by ocular Demonstration, that the vast Treasures deposited in the *Bank*, were really there. The Story ends thus, that an infinite Number of *Baggs* appeared, which the *Magistrates* affirmed to be full of Money, and that upon Proof, it would be found that the original Sums lodged in the *Bank*, were there to a *Stiver* ; but they said at the same Time, *That those who continued to distrust Them, and to break the public Credit, by making their Demands at a Time when the State was in so great an Exigency, should be stigmatized as bad Subjects, and should not be permitted to replace their Money in the Bank, when the Storm was blown over.* This bold Declaration had Its Effect. The Call ceased, and the *Bank* preserved Its Credit. I cannot help wishing, however, as a good *English Man*, zealous for the Honour of those great *Magistrates*, that the Experiment had been made : an Event, which would have evidenced the Truth, beyond Contradiction, and have placed the *Veracity* and *Honour* of those *Gentlemen*, as well as the *Credit* of their *Bank*, upon a solid and

and lasting Foundation. But perhaps those *Fathers* of the *City* thought it proper to keep the Money where it was, that if the ARMY of FRANCE had advanced, and a *Million of Ducats* well placed, would have raised the *Siege*, they might not have been wanting

If the *Bank* lends Money upon any Occasion, It is certainly to the Directors of the *Lombard*, an incorporated Body of Men *impowered by Authority to lend Money upon Pawns at a moderate Interest*. Should this be granted, It will prove indeed, that the *Bank of Amsterdam* trafficks in some *Proportion*, as well as the other *Banks of Europe*; but this can be no just Cause of *Discredit*, because the Money is advanced upon a real Security; for the *Lombard* takes Care to lend sufficiently within the *intrinick* Value of the *Pawn*, and the Interest is not suffered to accumulate. Thus the late ELECTOR of BAVARIA'S JEWELS, that were pawned to the *Lombard of Amsterdam*, were more than once ordered for Sale, and would certainly have been disposed of, had not the Interest been discharged. Where the *Pawn* is very considerable, and a large Sum demanded, as in the Case of these *Jewels*, there is indeed some Reason to believe that the *Bank* both advances the Money, and draws the

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Interest

Interest, under the borrowed Name of the *Lombard*. Thus if a Merchant has a Commodity that is not perishable, such as *Tin*, or *Lead*, for which there may possibly be no immediate Demand, He may find the Means to have two Thirds of the Value advanced upon a very small Interest, which enables Him to wait for his Market. The Use and Advantage of such a Practice, especially in a *Trading Country*, is very obvious; but if We ask why the Conduct of the *Bank* in this Particular, instead of being made *public*, is kept *secret* and rendered *mysterious*; the true Answer, I believe would be, *That should the Proprietors of the TREASURE, lodged in the BANK of AMSTERDAM, come once certainly to know, that any Use was made of the Money there deposited, many of Them would be apt to think, They might as well employ It in the same Manner Themselves.*

As to the Government of the *Bank*, It is very solemn and regular. The whole City is bound to make good the *Money* there deposited, and the *Treasure* is secured under four different Locks, the *Keys* of which are kept by four of the principal Magistrates, one of whom is always the PRESIDENT BURGOMASTER for the Time being.

The *Bank of Rotterdam* was erected in 1635, and the *Agio* there, is generally the same as at *Amsterdam*.

SARDAM, situated within a League of *Amsterdam*, is undoubtedly the greatest Magazine for *Timber* proper for Ship Building, in the World. The principal Inhabitants of this Village, are Merchants, who call Themselves *Boors* or *Pesants*, and under the awkward Dress, and seeming simplicity of Countrymen, conceal the utmost Sagacity and *Cunning*. They are most of Them extremely rich, and may be reckoned amongst the greatest *Bankers* in *Holland*. They deal very considerably in the Business of *Exchange*, and are very good Judges of It. Their Vanity however, is not less than their Wealth, and they take a peculiar Pleasure in letting you know, after their own Way, that They are worth Abundance of Money. Of This They give you many Instances in *Holland*, and it has been frequent with the *Boors* of *Sardam*, when Bills of Exchange for very large Sums have been brought to Them for Payment, to ask the Presenter, with that sort of Flegm which is peculiar to Them, *in what Specie he chose to receive his Money*. The rest of the Inhabitants are *Ship Carpenters*; and the whole Village is one continued Magazine of *Timber*. I know

not whether it will be worth our While to mention a Report which is very general in *Holland*, that the People of *Sardam*, are capable upon *three Months* notice, to launch a Ship *every Day*, from *four to five hundred Tuns*, for as long a Time as you please. This is believed to be true by a great many Persons in *Holland*, and I will not pretend to Judge how far They may be mistaken, or what those of *Sardam* are really able to do: If it be an Error, It certainly owes its Rise and Credit amongst Them, to the *natural Genius* and *Bent* of the People, and perhaps it would do more Hurt than Good to undeceive them.

ENCHUISEN, in *North Holland*, has its Share in the *East India Trade*; and is very considerable for the *Herring Fishery*, which has rendered It rich and opulent.

HORN, situated in the same Part of the *Province*, is famous for Its *Traffick* in *Cheese* of the Country, and has likewise its Share in the Trade to the *East-Indies*.

The BRILL, and *Helvoet-Sluice*, are the Sea-Ports of *Rotterdam*, and *Dort*. They are the *Keys* of *Holland*, and as such, are strongly fortified, and well Garrisoned. Their principal Subsistence is the *Herring Fishery*,

Fishery, and they get considerably by *Passengers*, and *Traders* between *England* and *Holland*.

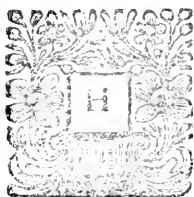
SCHEDAM, VLARDINGHEN, MAZELAND-SLUICE, and some other small Places, depend entirely on the *different Fisheries* already spoken of.



S E C T.



S E C T I I I .
 O F T H E
 R i s e , P r o g r e s s , C o m m e r c e ,
 A N D
 G O V E R N M E N T
 O F T H E
Dutch East-India Company.



HISTORIANS inform Us,
 that about three hundred
 Years before the Birth of our
 SAVIOUR, a Correspondence
 was opened Between *Europe*
 and *India*. *PTOLEMY II*, then
 KING of *EGYPT*, contributed very much

to establish an Intercourse between the Continents, by cutting a new Road thro' Part of his Country, from *Muris* on the *Red-Sea*, to *Copta* a Town situated on the Borders of the *Nile*. *Egypt* becoming afterwards a Province of the *Roman Empire*, by the prevailing Arms of *AUGUSTUS*, the *ROMANS* committed nothing that might possibly facilitate and encrease the *European Commerce* with *India*, which continued to flourish in their Hands, till the Time of *HERACLIUS*.

'Twas then, that upon the Declension of the *Empire*, the *ARABIANS*, who were very well acquainted with the Profits arising from the *Indian Trade*, and had been hitherto subservient to the *Romans* in it, left nothing unattempted to make Themselves the entire Masters of so important a Commerce; and this they happily effected, establishing Colonies in *India*, where they propagated the *Mahometan Religion*, which it seems was suitable enough to the loose Temper of the Natives.

Whilst the *Arabians* were Masters of the Coast of *India*, the Commodities of that Country continued the same Course into *Europe*, by way of the *Red-Sea*, *Alexandria*, and the *Persian Gulph*, from whence they were transported in *Caravans* to the Sea-Ports of *Siria*, where they were bought by the
Italians,

Italians, and those that lay near the *Levant*, who afterwards dispersed them over *Europe*.

In this manner the *Indian Trade* was carried on by the Ports of the *Mediterranean*, till towards the End of the *fourteenth Century*, when the *PORTUGUEZE* to their immortal Glory, sailed round *Africa*, and arrived at *Calicut* a Town of the *East Indies*, in 1498.

The *Arabians*, who were very strong in *India*, did all they could to frustrate the Design of the new Comers, and hinder their settling in the Country. But the *Portugueze* were superior to all Obstacles, and with an Intrepidity, and Constancy that can never be sufficiently admired, they sustained the united Force of the *Arabians* and their *Indian Confederates*, upon whom they made several important Conquests, in which they fortified themselves so well, that at last They became absolute Masters of the Trade of those vast Eastern Regions, which they now diverted from its old Channel, of *Grand Cairo* and *Alexandria*, and transferred it to *LISBON*.

The Conquests of the *PORTUGUEZE* in *Asia* and *Africa*, will best appear, when we describe Those which the *Dutch* have since made upon Them in those Countries. In the mean Time, the *Portugueze* enjoyed the Effects of their Conquests for above an hundred Years without any Interruption, and
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the *Dutch*, as well as the other *European* People had all the rich Commodities of *India* directly from *Lisbon*, which now triumphed in the Ruin of *Alexandria* and *Cairo*, to the unspeakable Loss and Detriment of *VENICE*, and many other Parts of *ITALY*.

Upon this Footing the *European* Commerce to *India* rested, till the latter End of the *fifteenth Century*, when by the Death of *HENRY* the *CARDINAL KING* of *PORTUGAL*, that Kingdom became annexed to the *Crown* of *Spain*, and *PHILIP II*, being then at Variance with his *Netherland Subjects*, which ended in the Revolt of the *united Provinces*; prohibited their Trade to *LISBON*, and the rest of his Dominions; and thus the *Dutch* were laid under the Necessity of going Themselves to *India*, and bringing from thence the Commodities They had hitherto bought in *Portugal*.

This Enterprize however could not be so easily executed, as imagined. The *Portuguese*, and *Spaniards*, most inveterate enemies to the *Dutch*, were very powerful in the *Indies*: They had *Forts* and *Settlements*; They had formed *Alliances*; and the Natives, who for an hundred Years together, had been taught to consider Them as invincible, would not be easily induced to do any thing to disoblige Them; and besides all This, They

They had Numbers of *Men of War* continually cruising on the Coast, to hinder any Attempt that might be made from *Europe* to their Prejudice. The *Dutch* on the Contrary, were destitute of every Thing that could encourage Them. They were utter Strangers to those vast *Indian Seas* which they were to pass, and intirely ignorant of every Thing, except the Danger to which They exposed Themselves in the Undertaking. Yet in Spite of all This, They attempted and performed the Voyage. Their implacable *Hatred* of the *Spaniard*, the *Love* of *Liberty*, and *Thirst* of *Gain*, all provoked Them to the Enterprize; and in 1559, four Ships were fitted out for *India*, by a few Merchants of *Amsterdam* and *Zealand*, Three of which returned to *Holland* two Years afterwards; the Fourth having been lost by the Negligence of the Seamen.

Tho' the Adventurers made little or no Gain by this first Voyage, yet it served to convince Them the Attempt was not impracticable. They were encouraged to try their Fortunes again; and the second Voyage being attended with better Success, other Traders were induced to join Them, and thus by Degrees, several Partner-ships were formed of Merchants trading to the
Indies;

Indies, which lasted 'till the Year 1602, when the STATES GENERAL united these several small Societies, into one Body, with a very ample Charter.

Such was the Rise of the present *Dutch East India Company*. The joint Stock of these *incorporated Merchants* amounted to about seven hundred and fifty thousand Pounds Sterling, which They managed so well, that in the Course of a few Years, They destroyed the Empire of the *Portuguese* in *India*, established Themselves on Its Ruins, and have since extended their Commerce to so great a Degree, that It has been for a long Series of Years, one of the best Supports of their own Country, as well as the Admiration and Envy of their Neighbours.

Their first Attempt was on the *Portuguese Fortress* in the Island of AMBOINA, which they took, and it is to this Day one of their principal Governments in the *Indies*. This was followed by the Conquest of all the *MOLUCCA ISLANDS*, by which They became in a Manner absolute Masters of the *Spice Trade*, the richest and most important in the World. Their Success alarmed the Court of MADRID, and PHILIP III, who had now succeeded to the Crown of Spain, offered to acknowledge Them

Them a *free and independent People*, if They would abandon their Trade in the *East Indies*. But They had already tasted the *Sweets* of that Commerce, and chose to continue the *War* rather than part with it. Their Constancy had the desired Effect, and in 1609 *Spain*, concluded a Truce with Them for twelve Years, which was negotiated at the *Hague* by the *Spanish Ministers*, amongst whom was AMBROSE SPINOLA Himself, and it was expressly agreed, that the DUTCH should continue their Navigation and Commerce, to all the Places in the *East Indies* whither They had traded during the War.

In this Year They began to build the famous Town of BATAVIA, in the Isle of great Java, which They fortified very strongly, and made it their general Magazine, and the Seat of their Governour General. The new made Truce, was ill observed in the *Indies*. The SPANIARDS carried on the War there with as much Heat as ever, but the Dutch continued to be Successful, and in 1611 we find Them extending their Commerce into the remotest Parts of *India*, particularly to JAPAN, where they settled Themselves so effectually, that five Years afterwards, in 1616, They were the only European Nation who traded thither.

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The Truce expired in 1621, and the *War* was renewed with Vigour, both in *Europe* and the *Indies*. The *DUTCH* were successful in both the Continents, and whilst *Prince Maurice* was every where Victorious over the *Spaniard* at Home, the Arms of the *Company* were attended with a Torrent of Success in *India*, which lasted for 20 Years together, and in 1640, they took the important Town of *Molucca*, which made Them Masters of the most considerable *Streight* in *India*, and secured their Trade to *China*, and the *Molucca Islands*.

In this Year the *PORTUGUEZE* revolted from *Spain*, and crowned the *DUKE* of *BRAGANZA*, KING of *PORTUGAL*, who was acknowledged by all the *States* dependant on that Crown, in *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*.

The *Portugueze*, had been hitherto at *War* with the *Dutch* as Subjects of *Spain*, but They had suffered too much, not to desire a Peace; and this Change in their Government, gave Them a fair Pretence to demand It. Accordingly the New *King* asked, and concluded a Truce with Them for ten Years, which was extended to all Places, both on this and the other Side the *Line*. But the *Dutch* did not observe their Treaty: They attacked and took *Gallo*, and

X

Columbo,

Columbo, two important Places in the Isle of *Ceilan*, which made Them Masters of the whole Cinnamon Trade, and gave Them the Command of the Streights between *Ceilan* and *Cape Commorin*. The PORTUGUEZE having in vain demanded Satisfaction of the *Dutch* for this Infraction of the Truce, the War broke out again between the two Nations, and lasted sixteen Years, in which the *Portugueze* were successful in the *West-Indies*, where They recovered BRAZIL from the *West India Company* of *Holland*, but in the mean Time They lost almost All that They possessed in the *East-Indies*. The DUTCH took all their strong Places, and destroyed their Settlements, from the very Entrance into the *Indian-Seas* quite to SURAT; which struck such a Terror through that vast Country, that even GOA the Capital of the *Portugueze*, in *India*, was apprehensive of a Siege, and dreaded the Effects of It. The Loss of the Battle of *Dabuls*, in a Manner put an End to the Empire of the *Portugueze* in *India*; and their Allies the little *Indian Kings*, terrified with the Success of the *Dutch Arms*, left their old Friends, and put Themselves under the Protection of the *Company*.

It is extremely for the Honour of the *Dutch*, that in the very Heat of the *War*, they omitted nothing that might enlarge and facilitate their Commerce. Their Settlement at the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, is a Proof of this; where there is now a large Town, with a strong *Fort* that commands the Road. This Place, which is situated in a pleasant Country, and a good Air, serves the *Dutch*, as *St. Helena*, does the *English*, for a Place of *Rendezvous* to their Ships, in their Passage to and from *India*, which are here supplied with Water and fresh Provisions.

In 1661 the *Dutch* took *Formosa* from the *Portuguese*, an Island situated between *China* and *Japan*, of great Importance to the Trade of those Empires. Both Sides were now weary of the *War*, and a Treaty of *Peace* was concluded between them at the *Hague*, under the Mediation of the King of *England*, by which the *United Provinces* formally relinquish'd BRAZIL to *Portugal*, for a Sum of Money, and some other Advantages, the principal of which was that the *Dutch* were to remain Masters of all they had taken from the *Portuguese* in the *East-Indies*. But Jealousies arising between the VICE-ROY of GOA, and the Company's Governour general, the *Peace* was not at all observed in *India*; and in 1663, the *Dutch* took *Coulam*, *Can-*

nor, *Cochin*, and *Grandanor*, which brought the whole Coast of *Malabar* into their Dependence. Several *Indian Princes* felt the Force of their Arms, as well as the *Portuguese*, and in 1669, the *King of Macassar*, who was the most powerful and resolute of all their *Indian Enemies*, was reduced to buy his Peace at the Price of several Fortresses, and of *Macassar* amongst the Rest, which made Them more than ever absolute Masters of the *Spice Trade*, which had sometimes been interrupted by the Incurfions of the *Macassarians*. In this manner, they continued to conquer upon the *Portuguese*, till they left them only *GOA*, and *DIU*, which in all Probability will one Day or other fall into their Hands. In 1675 They seized upon *St. Thomas* on the Coast of *Cormandel*; in 1680 they got Possession of *Japara*, and *Cheriban*, in great *JAVA*; and two Years afterwards they seized the City of *Bantam*, whose Trade they suppressed, and transferred It to *BATAVIA*.

Thus by a long and surprising Series of Success, they have established their own Empire in the *East-Indies*, by ruining that of the *Portuguese*; and now remain peaceable Possessors of six entire *Provinces*, erected into Governments, which are *Amboina*, *Banda*, *Malucca*, *Cormandel*, *Ternate*, and *Ceilan*, They have their Forts and Settlements in the Rest

of

of the *Spice Islands*; *Molucca*, *Java*, *Timor*, and *Solor*; and on the Coasts of *Malabar*, *Macassar*, *Sumatra*, *Surat*, *Bengal*, *Siam*, and *Japan*, &c.

The Trade carried on between these several Countries, and in general, from *Holland* to *India*, is what we are now to consider.

The three great Articles of a *Cargo* sent from *Holland* to the *East-Indies*, are *Bullion*, *Woollen Cloth*, and *Linnen*. The woollen Cloth is generally dyed *scarlet*, and the *Dutch* are very careful to imitate the *English* manner of *Package*, and other Marks used by Us, in order to preserve the Reputation which our Cloth formerly bore in those Parts of the *INDIES*, to which they now have an exclusive Trade. Besides these, they carry *Brandies*, *French Wines*, *Rhenish*, *Malaga*, *Hams*, *Beer*, and *Bisket*, but the principal Article is *BULLION*, of which however they send far less, in Proportion, than other Nations trading to the *Indies*; which is an Advantage they derive from their *Monopoly* of the fine *Spices*; Commodities that pass as ready Money in most Countries of *India*.

The Merchandizes brought from *India* to *Holland* may be distinguished under four Heads; *Spices* and *Druggs*; raw and woven *Silks*; *Cotton* in several Shapes; and *Metals*.

Under the Name of *Spices* are comprehended *Cloves*, *Cinnamon*, *Nutmeggs* and *Mace*, with

Pepper and Ginger. The four first are properly called *fine Spices*, and at present are only to be found, in those Countries which the *Dutch* are become absolute Masters of.

CLOVES, were formerly the Product of all the *Molucca Islands*, but now they are peculiar to *Amboina*, the Company having rooted up, and entirely destroyed all the Trees that grew in the other Islands; and to soften the Rigour of their Policy, they allow the *King of Ternate* a Pension of about five Thousand Pounds a Year, *by Way of Equivalent*. The first Fort the *Dutch* possessed in the *Indies*, was upon the Isle of *Ternate*. They assisted the *King* against the *Portugueze*, which procured them his Confidence; but they were no sooner firmly established, than they forced their Benefactor to submit to their Government. The *Dutch* tell you that the *Clove-Trees* of *Amboina*, are more than sufficient to supply all the Universe, and consequently they could not sell greater Quantities than they do, tho' the Cloves should be more plentiful. But should they suffer the Trees to spread over all the *Molucca Islands*, They would be more liable to fall into the Hands of another Nation, and consequently their Monopoly would be hazarded.

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This *Island*, which the *Dutch* conquered from the *Portuguese*, was the Scene of a cruel Tragedy in the Year 1623, which is commonly called the MASSACRE of AMBOINA. The *Dutch* executed all the *English* that were upon the Island, under the Pretext of their being Accomplices in a Conspiracy, to kill the *Governour*, and seize the *Cittadel*; having first obliged Them by unheard of Tortures, to acknowledge the Design they were accused with. The Truth is, the *Hollander* had no mind the *English* should have any Share in the *Clove-Trees*, and the other *fine Spices*. A great Deal more might be said; but as the Matter has been compounded in public *Treaties*, (a) I shall only add, that 'tis possible we may also have forgiven the *Dutch*, but they will never believe we have.

There are two sorts of CINNAMON, *fine*, and *mild*; this Last is of far less Value than the Former, which is only to be found in the Isle of *Ceilan*, in a small Tract of forty or fifty Miles upon the Sea Coast, within the

(a) See the Treaty of Peace and Union between OLIVER CROMWELL as Protector of England, and the States General concluded at Westminster, April 5th. 1654. Also the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Charles II, and the said States, done at Westminster, Feb. 9th. 1673-4.

Command of the *Dutch Settlements* ; who take care to prevent the Encrease of the *Cinnamon-Trees* : and if we may believe *Monsieur Huet*, they were at the Expence of taking *Cochim* from the *Portugueze*, the better to secure the Monopoly of this *Spice* ; for it seems the *Portugueze* found a great Deal of common or mild Cinnamon about *Cochim*, which they frequently put off for that of *Ceilan*, and by that Means hindred the *Hollanders* from setting what Price they pleased upon this Commodity.

NUTMEGGS and MACE grow only in the Isle of *Banda*, where the *Dutch* observe the same Policy as in *Ceilan* and *Amboina*, omitting nothing that may hinder the spreading of these Trees, and confine the Trade to Themselves, which they have enjoyed without any Interruption, since the Year 1669, that they reduced the *King of Macassar*, who being a near Neighbour to this *Island*, his Subjects used to take off great Quantities of Mace and Nutmeggs, which they sold afterwards to the *English* and *Portugueze* at an under Rate ; and by that Means very much lessened the Gains of the *Company*. But amongst other hard Conditions imposed on this *Prince*, they obliged him to drive the *Portugueze* entirely out of his Country, and refuse the Use of his Sea-Ports to all European Vessels except their

their own: by which they have effectually secured this Trade to the Exclusion of all other Nations.

PEPPER is distinguished into large and small. The first is found on the Coast of *Malabar*, and in the Islands of *Sumatra* and *Java*. The latter is peculiar to *Achem* and *Bantam*. 'Tis pretended that the Consumption of *Pepper* is greater in *India* than in *Europe*, especially of the small Kind; the *Indians* and *Mahometans* putting it whole into their Dishes, or at most a little bruised, without reducing it to Powder; and 'tis thought to be more wholesome in those sultry Regions, than in colder and more temperate Climates. There is no Commodity that has a more current Vent in the *Indies*, than *Pepper*; and accordingly the *Monopoly* of this Spice has been the constant Object of the *Dutch Company*: But they have been always strongly opposed by the *English*, who hitherto continue to preserve their Share in this Branch of Trade, in common with the *Hollander*, and the *Portuguese*. GINGER is the Root of a Tree resembling that of the *Rose*: We are told it grows in greatest Plenty about *Malabar*, a Town in the *Mogul's* Country, from whence it is chiefly exported, and has a general Consumption in *India*, as well as the *Northern Parts of Europe*, which take off very large Quantities.

TEA

TEA, which for its Universality, may be placed at the Head of the Druggs, that are brought from *India*; is no more than the Leaves of a Tree, about twelve or fourteen Foot high, gathered in the *Spring*, and dried in Copper Pans over the *Fire*, or in the *Sun*, 'till they shrink up to the Size in which we see them. CHINA produces a great Deal, but the best is thought to grow in *Japan*, and from these Countries the *Dutch* furnish Themselves with all they bring from *India*. INDIGO and SALTPETRE, which are two very considerable Articles in the Trade of the Company, are both the Product of the *Mogul's* Country; and of the Province of *Agra*, in the Kingdom of *Golconda*. We are told that *Indigo* is made of the Leaves of a Plant resembling *Hemp*, which after being rotted in Water, are wrought into a Substance, of the consistency of *Clay*, which as soon as dried becomes *Indigo*. The *Dutch* bring Home every Year about *six Thousand Weight* of this Drugg, which they distribute afterwards through all the North Parts of *Europe*. SALTPETRE is also brought from *India* to *Holland* in excessive Quantities, and is there made into *Gunpowder*. BENGAL affords the Company a vast Quantity of coarse *Sugar*, which when brought to *Holland* is refined, and sold to all the neighbouring Countries.

tries, with a very considerable Profit. *LACCA*, the Production of an *Indian Pismire*, is a Kind of Gum said to be made by that *Insect*, in the same manner that *Bees* produce *Honey*. There are two Kinds of this Drugg, black and red, but the latter is in greatest Plenty ; and 'tis from this sort that the *Indians* extract that lively *Red*, with which they stain their Silks and Callicoes, in that beautiful manner which so much exceeds our Imitation. This Drugg is produced in *Pegu*, *Asen*, *Bengal*, *Guzoratte*, and several other Parts of *India*. The *Hollanders* pay about *ten Stivers* a Pound for it in those Countries : and *Monsieur Huet* charges them with mixing it up with *Rosin*, and afterwards selling it in *Europe*, at *ten Stivers per Ounce* ; so that their Gain is hardly to be computed. *RHUBARB* and *MUSK* are found in several Parts of *India* ; but no wherein so great Perfection, as in *Bouton* a Kingdom situated between the *Great Mogul's* Country, and *Tartary* ; from whence they are fetched by the People of *Bengal*, and other Merchants of *Asia*, who sell them to the *Dutch*. To these Druggs we must add *Ambergreese*, *Camphire*, *Benzoin*, *Borax* and *Bezoar* ; with several sorts of Wood, as *Aquila*, *Siampan* or *Brazil*, *Lignum*, *Aloes*, *Rosewood*, *Sindal*, *Ebony*, *Calambour*, *Catatour* and *Cocoa*, all which are the Product
of

of the *Indies*, and are brought to *Holland* in great Quantities, from whence They are again distributed over *Europe*, with a very extraordinary Profit.

The Productions of *ARABIA*, which the *Dutch* fetch from *Mocca* on the *Red-Sea*, and the other *Arabian Ports*, are *Frankincense*, *Mirb*, *Mannah*, *Balm*, *Aloes*, *Dragons Blood*, *Coffee*, and several Kinds of *Gums*.

The Commerce of *PERSIA* is carried on by the Port of *Surat*. That Part of it under the great *Mogul*, affords vast Quantities of all Sorts of *Silk*, *Indigo*, *Saltpetre*, *Lacca*, *Agates*, and *Ginger*. *Silk* is the chief Commodity of the Rest of *Persia*, which produces likewise a small Quantity of *fine Wool*, *Pearls*, *Turquoise Stones*, and *oriental Agates*. *BENGAL* one of the most fruitful Provinces of *India*, in Subjection to the great *Mogul*, affords *Indigo*, *Saltpetre*, and *Sugar* in the greatest Plenty; and the best *Silk* of the *Indies*, which the *Dutch* take off in prodigious Quantities. To these we may add *Diamonds*, and the several Commodities produced in the Kingdom of *Bouton*, which are fetched from thence by the Merchants of *Bengal*.

The Country from *SURAT* to *CAPE COMORIN*, which includes the Coast of *Malabar*, abounds with *Pepper*.

CORMANDEL, and GOLCONDA, afford *Cotton, Calicoes, Chintzes, Indigo, Bezoar,* and yellow *Diamonds*.

PEGU yields *Lacca*, and Metals of several Sorts, *Gold, Silver, Rubies, Saphires, Topazes, Hyacynths* and *Amethysts*.

SIAM, produces *Rice, Elephant's Teeth, Tin, Lead, Siampan Wood*, and *Deer Skins, Gold*, and *China*.

JOR, LIGOR, JAMBI, QUEDA, PERA, and SUMATRA, &c. all Places bordering upon the Streights of MALACCA, afford *Tin* and *Lead*.

Silk, Musk, and Lignum Aloes, are the Produce of the Kingdom of TONQUIN.

CHINA which has always been esteemed the richest Country of INDIA, produces *woven and raw Silk* of all Kinds; *Cotton, Calicoes, Camblets, and Hemp*; *Gold, Tin, Copper, Steel, and Iron, precious Stones* of several Sorts; *Lapis Lazuli, and Marble*; *Aquila, and Ebony or Brazil Wood*; *Tea, Sugar, Musk, Quick-Silver, China-Roots, Rhubarb, Pale and brown Amber, Porcelain, fine Cabinets*, and many other particulars, which It would be tedious to enumerate.

SILVER and COPPER are the principal Commodities brought from JAPAN: To which we may add *Tea*, and the *Wood* which bears

bears the Name of that Country made into fine Cabinets, and Works of several Shapes.

SUMATRA, one of the most considerable Islands of the *Indies*, is divided into small Sovereignities, and produces *Pepper*, *Gold-Dust*, *Camphire*, and *Benzoin*. The *Dutch* have found Means to make Themselves so formidable to the little *Princes* of the *Island*, that *They have engaged Them by Treaty to sell their Merchandize to no other Nation*.

The delightful *Isle* of great *Java* is the Center of the *Dutch* Commerce, and the Seat of their Capital in *India*. The principal Commodity of the *Island* is *Pepper*: *Cinnamon*, and *Ginger* likewise grow here, and of late, the *Dutch* have planted *Coffee* with good Success. *Java* is one of the most fertile and pleasant Countries of *India*; Its Plains are watered with Rivers, whose Banks are covered with *Cocoas*, and other Fruit Trees, that wear a perpetual Verdure, and screen the Traveller from the Sun, at the same Time that their Productions afford Him a most agreeable Refreshment. *Rice* grows here in great Quantities; *Beef*, *Pork*, *Fowls*, and *Pidgeons* are in Plenty, and *Mutton* is only scarce from the extream Fertility of the Soil, which affords so luxuriant a Pasture that the *Sheep* feed 'till they burst. 'Tis said the *Vine* bears
seven

seven Times in two *Years*, but the *Grape* affords no *Wine*. Nature by precipitating the Birth, destroys maturity. Formerly there was a great Number of Cities in the Isle of *Java*, governed by their several *Kings*, but those who had the Misfortune to be situated near *Batavia*, were gradually swallowed up, by the growing Power of the *Dutch*, and of such as lay farther off, some have totally lost their Liberty, and others in Part. The most powerful of these Princes were the Kings of *Mataram*, *Japara*, *Bantam*, and *Jacatra*. The former, who pretends to be *Emperor* of the Island, retains his Liberty from the strong Situation of his Capital *Mataram*, which lies in a vast Plain, encompassed with prodigious Mountains, covered with thick Woods, thro' which the Passages are so narrow, that They cannot be forced. *Japara* is subject to the *Dutch* Government, but retains a considerable Share of her ancient Commerce. *Bantam* which was one of the most powerful Sovereignities of the Island, is entirely reduced to the Subjection of the *Hollanders*, and its Trade, as I have observed above, is transfered to *Batavia*. Originally, the *Portuguese* and *English* had considerable Settlements in this City, and interfered very much with the Trade

Trade of the Company. But the *Dutch* took the Opportunity of a *Civil War*, and by supporting the Son of the King of Bantam in a Revolt against his Father, They at last made Themselves Masters of the City and its Commerce. Their Competitors the *English* and *Portuguese* were immediately expelled, and the People of Bantam are to this Day the Slaves of the *Dutch Company*, whom They furnish with an immense Quantity of *Pepper*. As for *Jacatra*, the very Name of it is now extinguished, and sunk in that of *Batavia*. The *Hollanders* at first desired Leave to build a Fort, for the security of their Merchandize; but having in Process of Time made Themselves Masters of *Jacatra*, They destroyed the old Town and built their *Batavia* upon its Ruins. This is now one of the finest Cities in the *Indies*. Through every Street of the Town runs a Canal, that is fed by the River *Jacatra*, which still retains its old Name. These Canals are bordered with Trees that are perpetually green, and the excessive Heat is allayed by a *Sea Breeze* which rises every Day at Ten in the Morning, and reigns 'till the same Hour at Night, when it gives place to a gentle Gale from the Land; so that the natural Day, is equally divided between two friendly Winds, one
of

of which serves to bring all Manner of small Vessels into the City, and the other to carry Them away, as soon as They are unloaded. As they are not exposed to *Hurricanes*, the Houses are built extremely high, which gives the City an Air of Magnificence. There are Numbers of different Nations to be found at *Batavia*, as well of the eastern as western World. The *Roman Catholics* enjoy a Liberty of Conscience there, as in *Holland*. The *CHINESE*, who alone are computed to be four or five Thousand, inhabit a Suburb by Themselves, where They have their *PAGODE* and their Burying Places. Amongst a great Number of Churches, there is one for the Reformed *Indians*, where the Service is performed in their own Language. Of these, the Females are the most numerous, which proceeds from a *Law* that obliges the Women who marry *Europeans*, to turn *Christians*; but the same Law does not bind the Men, or rather they are not permitted to marry *European* Women. *Batavia*, is the general Magazine of the Company, as well for *European* as *Indian* Commodities. The Road is good and commanded by a *Fort*, flanked with four *Bastions*, and lined with *Free-Stone*

BORNEO, is universally agreed to be the largest Island in the *Indies*, and its Inhabi-

tants the most treacherous. According to *Monsieur Huet*, They have more than once insulted the Settlement which the *Dutch* formerly had there, for which Reason They have been permitted to bring the Commodities of their Country to *Batavia*, the principal of which are *Diamonds* and *Campfire*.

MACASSAR, an Isle divided amongst several petty *Kings*, of whom, He who bears the Name of the Island, was formerly very formidable to the *Dutch*, affords great Quantities of *Pepper*, *Sandal*, and *Siampan Wood*; *Gold-Dust*, and *Tortoiseshell*. The *Dutch* maintain a considerable Garrison in the Fort of *Macassar*, which is a Port of extrem Consequence to their *Spice Trade*.

Such are the Productions of those extensive Regions, a great Part of which are in the immediate Dependance, or under the Influence of the *Dutch East-India Company*. Prodigious Quantities of the Commodities I have mentioned, are yearly transported from *India* to *Holland*, by a Fleet of about twenty seven Ships; but we are not to imagine that so rich a Return is purchased by the Cargo which the *Company* sends annually from *Europe* to the *Indies*. Their SPICES are the true Basis of all their mighty Traffick, and the Grandeur of the *Company*; and to this we may add, that
the

the *Dutch* are in the *Indies*, what we find Them in *Europe*, the *Porters* or *Carriers* of other People, and They take Care to be very well paid for their Labour. With their *Spices* alone, which come so cheap to Them, They purchase all the rich Productions of *Arabia*. They also send vast Quantities to the *Mogul's* Country, *Bengal* and *Persia*; whither they bring likewise, the *Copper*, *Camphire*, *Tortoiseshell*, *Vermillion*, *Orchalmy*, *Tin*, *Benzoin*, and other Commodities; which They buy up in different Parts of the *Indies*, and exchange against the Productions of these Countries.

Thus to *CORMANDEL* and *GOLCONDA*, they send their *Spices*, with the *Copper* they buy at *Japan*; *Malacca Tin*, *Gold Oar* of the Isle of *Sumatra*, *Quick-Silver*, *Elephant's Teeth*, *Camphire*, *Vermillion*, *Siampan* and *Sandal Wood*.

To *PEGU*, *SIAM*, and *MALACCA*, They bring their *SPICES*. *Linnen* of all Kinds, *Cloath*, *Serges*, *Tammies*, *Elephant's Teeth*, *Sandal Wood*, red and white *Coral*, *Amber* and *Silver*: and to *JAPAN*, they carry the Commodities purchased in *CHINA*, with which, and their *Spices*, They purchase the *SILVER* and *COPPER* of that Country.

After this View of the extensive Commerce carried on by the *Dutch* in the *East-Indies*; It is our present Business to examine in what

manner and by whom the Affairs of the *Company* are governed.

The *Directors* of the *Company* form six different Assemblies; five of which are established in the Province of *Holland*, and one in *Zealand*. These are held at *Amsterdam*, *Rotterdam*, *Delft*, *Horn*, *Enchuysen*, and at *Middleborough*: In each of which Places, the *Company* has a Magazine, where the Goods brought from *India*, are laid up in the following Proportions. *Amsterdam* receives one Half; *Middleborough* one Fourth; and the other Towns have the remaining *Fourth* amongst Them; at each of which Places there are *public Sales* twice a Year by Order of the *Directors*. Out of these several Courts, is formed another, called the ASSEMBLY of SEVENTEEN, to which *Amsterdam* nominates *Eight* Deputies: *Middleborough* Four; each of the other Chambers one; and the Seventeenth is deputed by all the Courts alternatively. To this Assembly is deferred the Care of the most important Affairs of the *Company*. Every Thing that relates to *Shipping*, *public Sales*, *Dividends*, the *Nomination of the Governour General in the Indies*, the *Director General*, *Major General*, *Admirals*, and other principal Officers, is here determined by a Plurality of Voices; so that the Town of *Amsterdam*, which names eight of the *Directors* out of seventeen, has only one Voice

to gain, in order to dispose absolutely of all the most important Interests of the Company.

This Court is held two or three times a Year, most commonly at *Amsterdam*; and when the *States General* have any Thing before Them, relating to the *East-India Company*, The Assembly deputed some of her Members to confer with Them. All *By-Laws* for the Regulation of Trade in the *Indies*, are enacted by this Court; of which we shall be more particular in the *Sequel*, when we come to consider the Interests of *Great Britain*, as they may interfere with those of the *United Provinces*. The Supreme Direction of the Company's Affairs in the *Indies*, is committed by this Assembly, to the *Council of State* at *Batavia*; consisting of the *Governour General*, who is *President* of the Council, with a double Voice; six *Councillors* in ordinary, and so many extraordinary, as the Assembly of seventeen think fit to direct. But when the *Governour* and the six ordinary *Councillors* are all present, then the extraordinary have only a Right to debate without voting. The *Governour General* is chosen for three Years; but He is usually continued for Life. The Directors know very well their *Governour General* must get Money: but it would cost the Company too much to have a fresh Estate made upon

them every three Years, which is the true Reason why they continue their *Governour*, whose Fortune being once made, he grows less rapacious. This *Officer* is *Generalissimo*, and *High Admiral*, on the other Side the *Cape of good Hope*; and has his subordinate Officers, the *Major General*, and inferior *Admirals*. Indeed, if we only abate his Dependence on the *Company*, who may revoke his Commission at Pleasure, his Authority in the *Indies*, far exceeds that which the *Princes of Orange* exercised formerly as *Stadtholders* of the *United Provinces*; for the *Stadtholder*, as we have seen, can neither make *Peace* nor *War*, levy *Forces*, besiege a *Town*, or invade an *Enemy's Country*, without the express Consent of the *States*: but the *Governour General* may do all these even against the Opinion of the *Council*. Indeed, if the Success be not favourable, He runs the Hazard of his Head, if He should be disavowed by his Principals. But it seldom happens that He meets with any Opposition from the Councillors, who are apt enough to ply under so ample an Authority as is annexed to his Office. Of this there was an Example in *Governour Spelman*, who entered into *Treaties*, declared *War*, made *Peace*, and disposed of every Thing after his own Way, without any Controul. The *Governour General* represents the Dignity,
and

and we may almost say the *Sovereignty* of the *Company*. His *Court* and *Equipage* are magnificent: He is attended upon all *Occasions* with *Horse* and *Foot Guards*: He gives *Audience* to *Embassadors* of the *Indian Princes*, with the utmost *Splendour* and *Ceremony*; and acts in all *Respects* like a great and *Sovereign Prince*, at the *Head* of large and powerful *Territories*. The *Major General* is the second Person in the *Indies*, and commands all the *Forces* under the *Governour*. The *Director General* is the second Person of the *Council of State*, and superintends all the *Affairs* of *Commerce*. When the *Governour*, or any other Member of the *Council* dies, it depends on the Rest of the *Councillors*, to fill up the *Vacancy* by *Election*; which must be confirmed by the *Assembly* of *seventeen*.

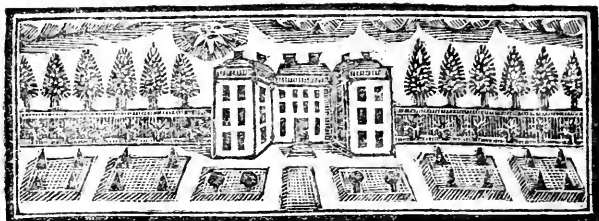
The *COMPANY* maintains about *twelve Thousand* regular *Troops* in the *Indies*, and 'tis said, that in their several *Governments* and *Dependancies*, they have above a *hundred Thousand* of the *Natives* able to bear *Arms*, who are at their *Devotion*, and upon *Occasion* are joined to their regular *Troops*. The *COMPANY's* *naval Force* in *Europe* and the *Indies*, may together consist of about *sixty* Sail of *Ships*, fit for *Service*, from *thirty* to *sixty Guns*; which may be indifferently employed, either as *Men of War*, or *Merchant Men*.

It will be very easily concluded from what has been said, that the *Indian Trade*, as managed by the *Dutch*, must bring in immense Treasures 'Tis certain that the yearly Return from *India* to *Holland*, amounts to about *two Millions Sterling*; and some pretend to say, that the general *Profits* of the *Company*, are not less than *five Millions Sterling per Annum*, which is no more than is requisite to answer the yearly *Dividend* made to the *Sharers*, and the exorbitant Expences the *Company* is at, both in *Europe* and the *Indies*, in Salaries to the *Governours*, *Commissioners* and *Directors*; in Wages to *Officers*, *Soldiers*, and *Seamen*; and in the Charge of *Fortifications*, *Ammunition*, and the *building*, *rigging*, *victualling* and *repairing* so many *Ships*. To which we must add, the *Rewards* and *Presents* made by the *Company* to their *Allies*, which are often of an immense Value.

There is another Board established at *Batavia*, by the *Assembly* of *seventeen*, called the *high Court of Justice*, which hears and determines all Causes, both *civil* and *criminal*, in the last Resort. *Appeals* lie to this Board, from the Judgment of all the other *Courts of Justice* in the several Governments: and she has Power to try the *Governour General* Himself, and condemn Him to *Death*, if found guilty of *Treason*. One would naturally imagine,

imagine, that *Appeals* should lie from the Sentence of this Court, either to the *Assembly* of *seventeen*, or to the *General Company*: but They have thought fit for several political Reasons, to authorize the *high Court* of *Batavia*, to give Judgment definitively, in all *Proceſſes* whatsoever, from which in Effect there lies no Appeal, except to the *States General* Themselves in their *legislative Capacity*. I shall have Occasion in the Sequel, to insert the *Placart* that is every Year published at *Batavia*; which will still give a further Light into the Manner in which the *Company's* Affairs are governed. The *Governours* of the *six Provinces* above-mentioned, with Him of the *Cape of Good Hope*, and all other *Settlements* or *Commanderies*, are chosen by the *Assembly* of *seventeen*; to whom they are obliged to return annually, exact Accounts of every Thing necessary for the *Company* to be apprized of, for the better Government of their Affairs.

Thus we have taken a View of the *Dutch East-India Company*, in its Rise, Progress, Commerce, and Government. We have traced It from a *feeble Infancy*, to a State of Strength and Maturity; and perhaps there is no Subject in the World, that affords so noble and convincing an Example, of the Force and Power of *Commerce*, when under a wise and constant Direction.



SECT IV.

OF THE

Dutch West-India Company.



THE PORTUGUESE first discovered *America*, in their Passage to the *East-Indies*, where They afterwards built several Forts, and were the only *European* People, who for many Years had any Settlement upon the Western Coast of this Continent, and in the adjacent Islands. The *Dutch* then fetched the Product of those Countries from *Lisbon*; but when *Philip II*, succeeded to the *Crown* of *Portugal*, and prohibited all Intercourse between that Nation and the *Netherlands*, The *Dutch*, as we have already observed, were then put upon the Necessity of trading directly to the *Indies*;

Indies ; and the Success that attended those who undertook the Voyage to *East-India*, encouraged others to attempt a Commerce with *Africa*, and *America*. Their first Settlement was at *Moure*, on the *Gold Coast*, where They built a Fort, and improved their Trade so well, that in 1609 we find above a hundred Vessels employed directly between *Holland*, and the *Gold Coast*, *America*, and the *Cape de Verde Islands*. This Success animated Them with the Desire of forming a *West-India Company* in *Holland*: but this Design was traversed by Those that desired Peace with *Spain*, who prevented the Execution of it for twelve Years; till in 1621, when the Truce betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Dutch* expired, the *States General* then incorporated a Body of *Merchants*, trading to the *West-Indies*, with a very ample Charter; upon the Model of that already granted to the *East-India Company*. By this Charter the *States* gave Them an *exclusive Trade* for twenty four Years, from the *Tropick of Cancer*, to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and through all *America*, from the Streights of *Magellan* to *New-found-Land*. The new Company's Fund was about seven hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling, divided into nine Shares; and the Government of its Affairs was reposed in five different Chambers. That of *Amsterdam*, which had

had *four Shares*, was composed of twenty Directors: *Zealand* had *two Shares*, and *twelve Directors*; and the other Chambers of the *Maese*, *North-Holland*, and *Groninghen* had each *one Share*, and fourteen *Directors*. Out of these several Chambers, was formed Another, consisting of *Eight Deputies* of *Amsterdam*; Four of *Zealand*, and Two for each of the other Chambers, which with a *Deputy* from the *States General*, composed an Assembly of *nineteen*, who had the supream Direction of Affairs.

Monsieur Basnage gives BARNEVELDT the Honour of projecting this Company, whose Attempts were so successful in the Beginning, that the *Dutch* entertained Hopes of becoming Masters of all *South America*; and of making their Trade thither as advantageous as that to the *East-Indies*. In 1636 the new Company, had conquered the best Part of *Brazil*, where they settled a very great Trade, to the unspeakable Damage of the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*. In the same Year They sent PRINCE MAURICE of NASSAU thither, in Quality of *Governour General*, and invested Him with an Authority equal to that of the *Governour General* in the *East-Indies*. During Eight Years that this Lord resided at *Brazil*, the Affairs of the Company continued to prosper, and He annexed to their former

Con-

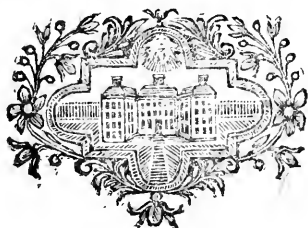
Conquests, Those of *Siara*, *Siriga*, and *Mara-gan*. In the same Manner They became Masters of *St. George de las Minas*, *St. Paul de la Conde*, and the *Island of St. Thomas* on the Coast of *Africa*. If we may believe the Registers of the Company, They fitted out between the Years 1623 and 1636, no less than eight hundred Vessels either for War or Traffick, the Expence of which, amounted to near four millions five hundred thousand Pounds Sterling; and they took from the Enemy in that Time, five hundred and forty five Vessels, whose Cargoes amounted to near six Millions, to which they add three Millions more, for the Plunder and Booty they obtained from the *Portugueze*, in their several Conquests. The Trade they carried on, to the different Places of their Dependence, and the other Parts of *Africa* and *America*, was extremely advantageous, and consisted in an Exchange of Trifles, or Merchandize of little Estimation, for the richest and most valuable Commodities. *Corals*, *Chryssal*, *Lace*, *old Linnen*, and *strong Waters*, were thought an Equivalent by the Inhabitants of *Africa* and *America*, for *Gold*, *Ivory*, *Hides*, and *Gumms*.

But this Prosperity was short lived. In 1641, the *States General*, having concluded a Truce with the *Portugueze*, who were no longer Subjects to SPAIN; this stopped the
Pro-

Progress of the *Company's Arms* in BRAZIL, upon which, They recalled their *General PRINCE MAURICE*; and Dissentions afterwards arising, between some considerable Persons in the *Company*, about the Government of BRAZIL, such Disorders succeeded in the Direction of Affairs, as were attended with the most fatal Consequences. The *Portuguese* were encouraged, to renew the War, in which They were now so Successful, that besides all that the *Company* possessed in BRAZIL, they re-took the Island of SAINT-THOMAS, with the Town of SAINT-PAUL, and would probably have driven the *Dutch* entirely out of those Countries, had not the War been put an end to in 1661, by the Mediation of our KING CHARLES II, who was then about Marrying the INFANTA of PORTUGAL. By this Treaty, the *Dutch* relinquished their Pretensions to BRAZIL, in Consideration of a sum of Money paid Them by the *Portuguese*, and the liberty of trading thither, and to the other Ports in the *Portuguese* Dependence, as Friends. But the *Company* was so reduced, by the Expences of the War, that They who had been in a manner equal in Power, and Opulence, to the *East-India Company*, now became little better than Bankrupts: And in 1674, the *States General* were obliged, in order

order to preserve the Trade of AFRICA, to annihilate the *Old Company*, and form a new One of the *old Sharers*, and their *Creditors*, whose Fund amounted to about *Six Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling*. In consequence of this, the number of *Directors* was lessened ; the Chamber of *Amsterdam* was reduced to *ten* ; that of *Zealand* to the same Number ; the *Maese* to *seven* ; the Number remained undetermined in *North-Holland*, and for the Chamber of *Groninghen*, It was left to the *States* of the *Province*, to constitute so many as They thought fit, for the common Good and Advantage of the Company. Lastly, the Assembly of *Nineteen*, which had the supream Direction of the Company's Affairs, was reduced to *Ten*. Upon this new Establishment, the Company continued its Trade to very good Advantage. They still retained their Settlements on the *Gold Coast*, and at *Cape Verde* ; and in a little time after their Loss of *Brazil*, they discovered and possessed themselves of the Islands of *Tobago* and *Curazoe* ; from the latter of which, situated near *Carthage*, the *Dutch* now carry on a very advantageous Trade to *New-Spain*, notwithstanding the Prohibitions of the Court of *MADRID*. To the Commodities already said to be brought from those Countries to *Holland*,
We

We must add *Sugar* and *Tobacco*; Productions, that give Motion to another very beneficial Commerce, which is that of *Slaves*, in which the *Dutch* are considerable Dealers. The *Portugueze* take off great Numbers from Them, to cultivate Their Plantations in *Brazil*, and other Parts of the *Indies*. The Negroes of *Angola* are thought to be the strongest, and most serviceable, and without the Labour of these unhappy Creatures, it would be impossible to cultivate the Soil of those *Scorching Regions*.



S E C T



S E C T. V.

OF THE

DUTCH TRADE

To the Northern Parts of

E U R O P E.



THE HANSE TOWNS, had for many Years together, engrossed all the Commerce of the North; when in the Beginning of the fourteenth Century, the KING of DENMARK, ERIC VIII, with whom They were then at War, called in the Zealanders to his Assistance, encouraging Them to trade to the *Baltick*; and from this Time the *Dutch* began to encroach upon the Commerce of the *Hans Towns*, which by De-

grees They have so effectually destroyed, either by Force or Treaty, that for many Years past, that Confederacy, which was once so potent and formidable, has been in a Manner annihilated, and now subsists only in the Name. It would be hard to say, whether the *Fisberies*, the *Indian Trade*, or the *Northern Commerce*, which we are now to describe, be of most Importance to the *Dutch*; but 'tis certain they are all equally necessary for the support of each other; and this we shall be better convinced of, when we see the *Herrings* and *Spices* sent in Quantities to the *North*, and there trucked against such Commodities as are absolutely necessary for the Support of the *Dutch Navigation*, and the Employment and Subsistence of their People.

The *Trade* the *DUTCH* drive with *NORWAY* is of great Importance to both Nations. They bring from thence *Masts*, and other Kinds of *Timber*; *Copper*, *Iron*, *Tar*, *Pitch*, *Firrs*, *Buck-skins*, *Ashes*, *Butter*, *Tallow*, and dry'd *Salmon*: To purchase which, They carry a great Quantity of *Spices*, *Salt*, *Canary*, *Brandy*, and *Vinegar*; Productions of *Southern* Climates, that are very much wanted in *Norway*. *TOBACCO*, bought originally from the *English*, and wrought up in *Holland*, with *Woollen Cloath*, and other

Home

Home Manufactures, make the rest of the Cargo; But as the *Dutch* take off great Quantities of the *Norwegian* Commodities, and that *Luxury* has not yet infected *Norway*, the *Exports* of that Country, far exceed its *Imports*, and the Difference is paid in ready Money, so that the *Dutch* Trade is of the last Consequence to the People of *Norway*, as well as of very great Importance to the *Hollander*. This Commerce is thought to employ near *three hundred* Sail of *Dutch* Ships, from four to five hundred *Tuns*.

The Trade between *SWEDEN* and *Holland* is highly considerable, and beneficial to both Nations. *Copper, Iron, Lead, Pitch, Tar, Masts, and Planks*, are the Product of *Sweden*; of which the *Dutch* bring from thence very great Quantities, especially, *Copper* and *Iron*; and in Exchange They send *Spices, and Druggs, of all Kinds; Salt, Sugar, French Wine and Brandy; Linnen; wrought Silks* of several Sorts, and great Quantities of *Woollen Manufactures*.

The Trade of *DENMARK*, is very inconsiderable. I know of nothing exported at present from *Zealand*; but *Jutland* affords *Black Cattle*, which the *Dutch* take off in great Numbers, and fat them up in *Holland*.

POMERANIA, abounds in *Corn, Wooll, Skins, and Timber*. STETIN, the Capital of that Province, situated on the River *Oder*, is the principal Place of Commerce, as well for the Commodities of this Country, as of SILESIA, and other rich Provinces of *Germany*; which afford vast Quantities of *Wheat*, and other *Grain, Honey, Wax, Butter, Iron, Lead, Tin, Linnen, Wool, and Timber*: Most of which Particulars the *Dutch* purchase with their *Spices, and Herrings* of the first Season, *Wines, Cheese, Salt, and Tobacco, Woollen and Silken Manufactures*.

The same Commodities, and many others, as *Druggs* of all Kinds, *Sugar, Oil, Paper, Brandy, and dying Stuffs*, are sent by the *Dutch* to DANTZICK, where they are exchanged against the Productions of the fertile Kingdom of POLAND, and ROYAL PRUSSIA, subject to that Crown. These are *Grain* of all Kinds, which the *Dutch* take off from this famous Port in immense Quantities, *Iron, Lead, Copper, Quick-silver, Vitriol, Saltpetre, Sulphur, and Tellow Amber; Masts, and Planks; Hemp, and Flax; Pitch, Tar, Hides Furrs, and Wooll*.

The DUCAL PRUSSIA, now subject to his MAJESTY of that Name, ELECTOR of BRANDENBURGH, is very fruitful in all Kinds of *Grain*, and particularly *Wheat*. The Commerce of this Country is carried on by *Coningsberg*, situated on the Mouth of the *Pregel*, where One likewise finds several Commodities of the great *Dutchy* of *Lithuania*, and some Parts of *Poland*; such as small Oak for Cooper's Work; *Leather*, *Furrs*, *Rice*, *Honey*, *Wax*, *Barley*, *Millet*, *Hemp*, and *Ashes*. The *Dutch* take off a-
 bundance of these Commodities, and hither They bring, *Spices*, *Wines*, *Druggs*, *Cheese*, *Salt*, *Tobacco*, *Iron*, *Lead*, *Tin*, and old *Dutch Dollars*.

The DUTCHY of COURLAND, has a considerable Trade with *Holland*, for *Linseed*, *Wheat* and *Timber*, which is carried on by the Two Sea-Ports of this Country, *Li-
 baw* and *Memel*; and the *Dutch* bring hither the same Commodities as to *Prus-
 sia*.

LIVONIA, now subject to *Muscovy*, is naturally one of the most fertile Provinces of *Europe*, and the best situated to command the Trade of the BALTICK. *Revel*, *Riga*, *Narva*, and *Pernaw*, are the Sea-Ports of this Country, by which the whole Trade between *Europe* and *Russia*, was formerly

carried on: But several Things have concurred to destroy the Welfare of this Province, and frustrate the Advantages which It ought naturally to derive from Its Situation and Fertility. *War, Famine, and Pestilence*, have very much lessen'd the Number of Its Inhabitants; and *Archangel* having been discovered by the *English* about the Middle of the last Century. the *CZAR* omitted Nothing that might encourage Them to settle there, and from that Time the Trade of *Muscovy* was turned into a new Channel. *LIVONIA* was then subject to the Crown of *SWEDEN*; but the Fate of *War* having brought this Province under the Domination of the *Muscovites*, Its Commerce begins to revive, especially at *Riga*, from whence the *Dutch* fetch every Year vast Quantities of *Wheat* and other *Grain*, *Masts*, *Cooper's Wood*, *Oak*, and *Deals*; *Flax*, *Hemp*, and *Linseed*; *Honey*, *Wax*, and *Tallow*: To purchase which, They carry *Spices*, *Tobacco*, *Sugar*, *Salt*, *Paper*, *Iron-work*, and small *Wares*, with considerable Quantities of *Linnen* and *Woollen Manufactures*.

I have just now said, that the Trade between *EUROPE* and *MUSCOVY*, was formerly carried on by the Ports of *Livonia*, when upon settling an *English Factory* at *Archangel*, on very advantageous Terms, the
 Course

Course of the *Russian Commerce* was immediately diverted from *Livonia*, to that Port; situated in the *White Sea*, near the River *DUINA*, which washes the greatest Part of *Muscovy*.

The *Dutch* soon obtained Leave to trade to *Archangel* as well as the *English*, and notwithstanding our being first in Possession, in less than twenty Years after our Discovery of this Port, which was in 1653, They sent thither ten Ships for our One.

We have seen in our own Days the Commerce of *Muscovy* transferred from *Archangel* to *Petersburgh*, a Town situated at the utmost Extremity of the *Baltick*, and founded by the late *Emperor of Russia*, who has omitted Nothing to make It flourish, and it will probably one Day become the Capital of that vast *Empire*, as it is now the ordinary Residence of the Court.

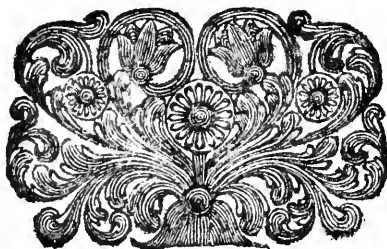
The Trade carried on between *Muscovy* and *Holland* by this Port, is of the utmost Importance to both Nations. *Spices* pass like ready Money in *Muscovy*, and 'tis confidently affirmed, the *Dutch* export thither every Year near a thousand Bales of *Pepper* and *Nutmegs* only; with large Quantities of the finer *Spices*, as well as *Druggs*, *dying Stuffs*, *Tobacco*, *French and Spanish Wines*, *Brandy*, *Oil*,
 Z 4 Vinegar;

Vinegar, with the several Kinds of wet and dried Fruits of the Southern Climates, vast Quantities of Herrings, Linnen, and woollen Manufactures of the coarser Kind, Silks of all sorts and Colours ; Gold and Silver Brocades, rich Ribbands, Hats, Paper, Soap, Iron Work and small Wares. In Return for which They bring back Cables : Beaver and other Furs: prodigious Quantities of Russia-Leather, dressed in a Manner peculiar to that Country, which they afterwards vend with very great Profit in Spain and Italy : abundance of excellent Masts, Hemp, and Flax, Pitch, Tar, Tallow and Askes. Wax is another Russian Commodity, and the Dutch import incredible Quantities of It, which they refine in Holland and sell afterwards in the Roman Catholick Countries with an excessive Profit. The Article of Caviar deserves our Notice. This is no more than the Spawn of Sturgeon ordered in a particular Manner, by the Muscovites, and the Dutch take off large Quantities which they sell in Italy, to very great Advantage.

Upon the whole, it will be easily allowed that the Ballance of Trade is in the Favour of *Muscovy* ; notwithstanding the many Species of Goods the Dutch export thither ; for the Quantity of Merchandize they bring from *Russia*, is almost incredible, and the

Diffe-

Difference is paid in *Specie*, which the *Dutch* sufficiently re-imburse to Themselves, by the Gain they make upon the several *Russian Commodities*, which they re-export to the different Countries of *Europe*.



SECT



SECT. VI.
OF THE
DUTCH TRADE
TO
GERMANY,

by the RIVERS,
*Elbe, Weser, Rhine, Moselle,
Mein, and Maese.*



THE River ELBE, after having traversed the Kingdom of BOHEMIA, where it has its Source, and the Electorates of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Hanover, falls into the German Ocean, a little below Hamburg; in which

which City, the DUTCH transact all their Commerce with those Parts of *Germany*, which are washed by this River. Hither they bring *Spices, Druggs, Herrings, Woollen and Silk Manufactures, small Wares, and Toys*: for which They have in *Exchange*, vast quantities of *Timber* for Shipping, *Wine, Corn, Brass-Wire, White Iron* from *Saxony*, and many other Commodities, peculiar to the *North*.

By the *WESER* they carry on the Trade of *BREMEN*, and several fertile *Provinces* of the *Lower Germany*, which furnish the best *Timber* of all the *North, Wheat, Wool, Metals* of several Kinds, and *Gum*: to purchase which, They send *woollen and Silk, Manufactures, Spices, Druggs, dying Stuffs, and small Wares*.

By the *RHINE*, and the Rivers that discharge Themselves into it, the *Dutch* carry on the most important Trade of *Germany*. This famous Stream is in a manner navigable for three hundred Leagues together, from *SWITZERLAND*, where it has its Rise, to the *Province of Holland*, where it disembogues it self into the Ocean.

At *COBLENTZ*, It receives the *Moselle*, which traversing *Lorraine* and the whole *Electorate of Triers*, falls into the *Rhine* at this Place, bringing with it vast Quantities of the *Wines* that grow on its own Banks, and
other

other Commodities, which are from thence sent down to COLOGNE, long since eminent for *Commerce*, and the Place of greatest Consideration on the *Rhine*. From hence the *Dutch* have *Wine* and *Timber*, *Iron*, *Cannon*, and *Bullets*; and hither they bring their own *Silk* and *Woollen Manufactures*, *Spices*, *Druggs*, *Herrings*, *Sugars*, *Cheese*, and many other Particulars.

Next to the *Moselle*, the *Mein* is the most considerable of those Rivers that feed the *Rhine*. This Stream, after traversing all *FRANCONIA*, one of the finest and most fertile *Provinces* of *Germany*, loses it self in the *Rhine*, near *MENTZ*, and brings with it the Commodities of *FRANKFORT* and *NUREMBERG*. These are *Copper*, *Iron*, several kinds of *Cutler's Ware*, and other Merchandize, which the *Dutch* purchase with their *Silk* and *Cloth*, their *Spices*, *Herrings*, *Druggs*, *dyeing Stuffs*, &c. And in this Manner, the Exchange is made with all the other Countries, situated on the *Rhine*, or on those Rivers that have a Communication with it.

By the *MAESE*, the *Dutch* carry on the Trade of *LIEGE*, *AIX-la-CHAPELLE*, and the circumjacent Parts of *Germany*. To *LIEGE*, they carry *Herrings*, *Spices*, *Druggs*, both for the *Apothecary* and *Painter*; great quantities of *Woollen Goods*, *Silks* of different

ferent Kinds, and several other *Manufactures*; in Exchange for which, They bring back a great deal of *Brass*, and *Copper-Work*, made at *Aix-la-Chapelle*; wrought *Steel* and *Iron* from *Liege*; *Musquets*, *Swords*, *Bullets*, *Bombs*, *Granadoes*, *Lead*, *Pit-Coal*, and *Slate*.

We may venture to decide, that the *Balance of Trade*, in all these different *Branches* of the *German Commerce*, is excessively in favour of the *Hollander*.



S E C T



S E C T. VII.

O F T H E

D U T C H T R A D E

T O T H E

A U S T R I A N N E T H E R L A N D S,

And the Southern Parts of

*Europe, France, Spain, Portugal,
Italy, and the Levant.*



WE have seen above, in what Manner the vast Commerce once established in the *Low Countries*, now called the *AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS*, was destroyed ; the *Restoration* of which, has hitherto been opposed with ve-

ry great Industry, and equal Success, by the *Hollander*, and particularly, by the People of *Amsterdam*, whose Commerce was in a great Measure founded on the ruin of *Antwerp*. The Trade the *Dutch* have carried on to these Countries, for about an hundred Years past, has been prodigiously in their own Favour, and very great Sums have been drawn from the *Netherlands*, to discharge the *Ballance* due to the *Hollander*, which will evidently appear, when we consider the Nature and Quantity, of the Merchandize, that these Countries exchange with each Other. From *Antwerp*, *Mecklin*, and *Brussels*, the *Dutch* bring *Lace*, *Thread*, and *Tapestry*, all very beautiful in their Kinds. At *GHENT*, they buy abundance of *Serges*, *Lawns*, *Cambricks*, *Diapers*, and other Sorts of *Linnen*. *BRUGES* affords the same Commodities, with exception to the *Serges*; but in the room of this Particular, we may reckon *Sheep's-Leather*, of which, there is a very large quantity dressed here, in great Perfection. *AUDENARD*, is particularly famous for *Tapestry*; and these are the principal Merchandizes which the *Dutch* import from that Part of the *Netherlands*, in subjection to the *Emperor*. Countries, which ever since, and even before the Peace of *Munster*, have always taken off vast Quantities

Quantities of *Dutch Manufactures*, both *Silk* and *Woollen*, with the whole Product of the *Indies*, *Spices*, *Druggs*, *Tea*, and *Coffee*, *Muslin*, and all sorts of *Indian Stuffs*; a great Quantity of *Herrings*, and other Commodities.

We have lately seen an Attempt made by the present EMPEROR, to restore their long alienated Commerce, by granting a *Charter*, for establishing an *India Company* in the *Low Countries*; and were this to proceed, it must put a stop to the advantageous Trade the *Dutch* enjoy with the People of these Provinces, and be the Parent of many other Alterations in the Commerce and Interests of *Europe*. But this new Establishment, has met with so strong an Opposition from the Allies of *Hanover*, that we already see the Company's Trade to *India* suspended for seven Years; which, in all Probability, will be succeeded by an entire Annihilation. As This is yet undetermined however, and as the *Ostend Company*, is still one of those Points, which employ the Politics, of almost every Court of *Europe*. It may, perhaps, be neither impertinent, nor unuseful, in the sequel of this Discourse, to shew on one Hand, the Grounds upon which the *Emperor* pretends a Right to erect this new *India Company*; and
on

on the other side, the Pretensions the *Dutch* make to the *Indian Trade*, exclusive of the People of the *Austrian Netherlands*; with the Consequences that will naturally arise from the Prosperity of the *New Company*, if it be suffered to continue, and the Influence it will have on the Affairs of *Europe*. All which, will naturally fall under our Enquiry, when we come to examine the Alliances of the *States General*.

The Trade the *DUTCH* have carried on with *FRANCE*, ever since the Rise of their *Republic*, has been highly considerable, and of great Importance to both Nations, but especially to *France*, from the prodigious Quantities of *french Merchandize*, which the *Dutch* stood in Need of, either for *Home Consumption*, or to carry on their Trade with other Nations. *Monsieur de Wit*, computes, that about the Year 1658, the *Dutch* paid the *French* annually, upwards of *Thirty Millions of Florins in ready Money*, over and above the *Exchange of Commodities*. And notwithstanding They have since set up several Manufactures, that were before peculiar to *France*, in which they have been very successful, and consequently, the Importation of several Species of *french Merchandize* into *Holland*, is extremely diminished, yet, 'tis very certain, the Ballance still remains in Favour of the *French*. We have

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already

already taken Notice, that in the Year 1658, *Monsieur Boreel*, the *Dutch Ambassador* in *France*, convinced that Court, how important the *Dutch Trade* was to the *French Nation*. To do this, He prevailed with the united Body of Merchants at *Paris*, to make a Calculation of the several kinds of *French Commodities*; and what Quantities of Them were exported to *Holland*, which Mr. *Boreel* presented to the King, as follows.

1. In Velvets, Plush, Satins, Gold and Silver Stuffs, Tafetas, and other Silk Stuffs of *Tours*, and *Lions*, to the Value of six millions of *Livres*, and upwards. } 6000000
2. In Ribbons, Silk and Thread Laces, Buttons and Taggs, made at *Paris*, *Roan*, and the adjacent Towns, to the Value of two Millions. } 2000000
3. In Castors, and other Sorts of Hats, made at *Paris*, and *Roan*, to the Value of one million five hundred thousand *Livres*. } 1500000

4. In

- | | |
|---|---------|
| 4. In Plumes, Belts, Umbrellas, Masks, Head-Dresses, Looking-glasses, Gilt-frames, Watches, and several Kinds of Toys and Trinkets which the <i>French</i> term <i>Bijoux</i> , to the Value of <i>two Millions</i> . | 2000000 |
| 5. In Gloves, made at <i>Paris</i> , <i>Glermont</i> , <i>Vendosme</i> , and <i>Roan</i> , to the Value of <i>one million five hundred thousand Livres</i> . | 1500000 |
| 6. In Woollen-yarn spun, in <i>Picardy</i> , to the Value of <i>five hundred thousand Livres</i> . | 500000 |
| 7. In Paper of all Sorts, made in <i>Poitou</i> , <i>Champagne</i> , <i>Limo-sin</i> , <i>Auvergne</i> , and <i>Normandy</i> , to the Value of <i>two Millions</i> . | 2000000 |
| 8. In Pins and Needles, and in Ivory, Ebony, Box, and Horn Combs, made at <i>Paris</i> , and in <i>Normandy</i> , for <i>five hundred thousand Livres</i> . | 500000 |
| 9. In small Iron and Steel Wares, made at <i>Auvergne</i> , to the Value of <i>five hundred thousand Livres</i> . | 500000 |
| 10. In Sail Cloath from <i>Normandy</i> and <i>Brittany</i> for above <i>five Millions</i> . | 5000000 |

11. In Chamber Furniture of all Kinds; Beds, Matresses, Quilts, Blankets, Fringes, &c for above <i>five Millions</i> .	}	5000000
12. In Wines of several Growths, for above <i>nine Millions</i> .	}	9000000
13. Brandy, Vinegar, and Sy- der, for above <i>two Millions</i> .	}	2000000
14. In Saffron, Soap, Honey, Almonds, Olives, Capers, Pruens, and other Fruit, to the Value of <i>two Millions</i> .	}	2000000
Total		39500000

To which must be added, *five or six hundred Ship Loads* of Salt, which the *Dutch* fetch every Year from *Rochele, Maran, Brouage*, and the Isles of *Oleron* and *Ree*.

It is undeniable, that at the Time of making this Calculation, the FRENCH were immense Gainers by their Commerce with HOLLAND; and tho' several of the above Manufactures are now made to good Perfection by the *Dutch*, yet the Importation of French Goods into *Holland* still continues to be very considerable. All the Particulars of the 4th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th, and 13th Articles, come thither in as great Quantities as ever, and considerable of all the Rest, even of Those which the *Hollanders* have most happily imitated.

The

The *Dutch* carry to *FRANCE* in their Turn, all Sorts of *Spices*, and *Druggs*; dyeing *Stuffs*, *Linnen* of several Kinds, *Steel*, *Copper*, white *Iron Wire*, *Arms*, *Gunpowder*, *Sulphur*, *Match*, *Russia-Leather*, and other *Northern* Productions; *Furrs*, *Hemp*, *Flax*, *Pitch* and *Tar*, *Masts*, *Planks*, and all other Sorts of *Timber*, both for *Shipping* and *Houses*; together with a considerable Quantity of *Herrings*, and other *Salt-Fish*, *Butter*, *Cheese*, *Tallow*, &c. yet all this does by no Means countervail, the vast Quantity of *French* Goods They import, and the Difference must be paid in *Money*; notwithstanding which, the *French* Trade is far from being destructive to the *Hollanders*, because the prodigious Quantity of Goods They import from *France* is not consumed at Home, but sent out again in different Proportions to all the *Northern* Nations, and even to the *East* and *West-Indies*; so that upon the whole, We may say that this Trade is of great Importance to the *Dutch*, but absolutely necessary to the *French*.

If *FRANCE* gains extremely by the *DUTCH*, the Trade with *SPAIN* is on the other Hand, prodigiously in Favour of the *Hollander*. This Commerce is divided into three Branches. That of the *Northern Parts* of *SPAIN*, *Old Castile*, *Leon*, *Arragon*, *Navarre*, *Guipus*

coa, and the *Asturies*, is carried on principally by the Ports of *Bilboa*, and *St. Sebastian*. The Commerce of the *Southern Provinces*, which lie on the *Mediterranean*, is almost entirely transacted at *Alicant*, *Malaga*, *Carthagera*, and *Majorca*. The *third Branch*, which is of far greater Importance both to the *Spaniard* and the *Hollander* than the other Two, is the Trade of *Cadiz*, which comprehends That of the *Spanish West-Indies*, in which the *Dutch* are every Year very deeply concerned, notwithstanding the severe Prohibitions made by the *Court of Madrid*, to prevent and deter *Foreigners* from having any Share in this Commerce.

The Commodities the *DUTCH* export to *SPAIN*, for the Consumption of that *Kingdom*, and the Exportation to *America*, are hardly to be enumerated. *Linnens* of all Sorts; *Hollands*, *Cambricks*, *Lawns*, and *Muslins*; fine and coarse *Callicoes*; *Table Linens*, *Tapes*, and *Filicings*, are brought to all the Ports abovementioned, in prodigious Quantities. There is an equal Demand for their *Woollen Manufactures*, *Broad-cloath*, *Camblets*, and *Serges*. *Gold* and *Silver-Brocades*, with several other Sorts of *Silks*, make another Article of great Importance. They bring likewise great Quantities of *Paper*, *Cards*, *Lace*, *Ribands*, *Hats*, and *small Wares*

of

of *Steel, Copper, and Iron*; great Quantities of *Timber* for Building; *Wood* for *Barrels*, with other Productions of the NORTH, such as *Russia-Leather*, white and yellow *Wax*, of which Commodity alone, they are said to sell the *Spaniards* every Year, to the Value of *four hundred thousand Pound Sterling*, which is owing to the prodigious Consumption of It in the *Churches* of *Spain*, and *America*; and to these we must add, abundance of *naval Stores, Pitch, Tar, Cordage, Masts, Planks*, and all Sorts of *Ammunition*. After which we may reckon *Provisions* of several Kinds, *Herrings, Cod*, and other *Salt-Fish, Corn, Butter*, and *Cheese*.

It remains, that we mention the *Spices*, and *Druggs*, of both which there, is a very great Consumption, both in *Spain*, and *America*. The DUTCH, as is observed above, being Masters of the fine *Spices, Cloves, Nutmegs*, and *Cinnamon*, They alone, sell these Commodities to the *Spaniards*; And 'tis affirmed, that near one half of all the *Cinnamon* They bring from *India*, is consumed in *Spain*, and *America*; principally by Those of *Peru*, in making *Chocolate*. They serve the *Spaniards* likewise, with a considerable Quantity of *Pepper*, and abundance of *Druggs* that are used both *Medicinally*, and for *Colouring*.

In Return for so large and rich a Cargo, the *Dutch* import from the *Northern Parts* of *Spain*, great quantities of *fine Wool*, which is wrought up in their *Manufactures*. A great Quantity of *Iron*, *Chestnuts*, *Lemons*, *Oranges*, and *Anchovies*. The *Southern Provinces* furnish Them also with abundance of *fine Wool*, and great quantities of *Oil*, *Olives*, *Figgs*, *Raisins*, *Almonds*, *Anniseeds*, and several other *Fruits*, *Salt*, *Soap* and *Wines*, of which, They take off great Quantities, especially, when their Commerce with *France* is interrupted.

From *CADIZ*, They bring back many of the above-mentioned Particulars ; but what is of far greater Consequence, They receive upon the arrival of the *Galleons* and *Flotilla*, from the *West-Indies*, a very large Sum of Money, in Payment for the Commodities They send thither. This rich Return is made in the Productions of *AMERICA*, *Gold* and *Silver*, with such other Commodities, as pass every where for Ready Money, *Pearls*, *Emeralds*, *Cochinele*, *Tobacco*, *Cocoa*, *Indigo*, *Quinquina*, *Vanilles*, *Leather*, *Wood*, from the *Bay of Campechy*, and several other Particulars. The *GALLEONS*, for *Carthagena*, and *Portobello*, and the *FLO-TILLA*, for *Vera-Cruz*, sail constantly from *Cadiz*, and return thither. It is generally known,

known, that the *Court of Madrid* prohibits all Strangers to trade to the *Spanish West-Indies*, without *Licence*, upon very severe Penalties. Yet, the *Dutch*, as well as the *English* and *French*, find means to drive a Trade with those Countries, almost to as good a Purpose, as if They had an open Permission, or an *Affiento*; and this is done by entrusting their Goods with *Spanish Merchants*, who sell Them in their own Names; and, as faithful *Factors*, never fail to return the just Product, after deducting the Charges of the *Commission*, as agreed on.

It was never to be pretended, and much less, since the late Rupture, that the *Court of Madrid* is ignorant, in what manner the *Dutch*, and other Nations, evade her Prohibitions, to trade to the *Spanish Colonies* in *America*; but why this clandestine Commerce is tollerated, is a Question, that will not be so easily resolved. I do not think it sufficient to say, that Policy engages the *Spaniard* to wink at it: I am sure it will always be very ill Policy in any *State*, to suffer a Neighbour to take annually half a Million of Money out of her Coffers, if there be a possibility of preventing it. We must therefore ask a better Reason; and I believe the true One is, that the *Spaniards*, who of all Mankind, are

are the worst *Oeconomists*, are so poor, that it is not in their Power to purchase such a Cargo as is absolutely necessary for the Supply of *America*; otherwise, nothing would be so natural, as for the very Merchants, who now send the *Dutch*, *English*, and *French* Goods thither upon Commission, to buy Them up at *Cadiz*, and by consigning them to *America* upon their own Accounts, secure the Profits of the Return to Themselves. But this They are not able to do; and the *Dutch*, who, upon all Occasions, are very ready to sell upon *Trust*, and do really give the longest Credit of any Nation in *Europe*, refuse it to the *Spaniards*, because by that means, They make themselves Principals in the Cargo to *America*.

We have already observed, that when the CROWN of PORTUGAL became re-united to that of SPAIN, in the time of PHILIP II, all Commerce between HOLLAND and that CROWN ceased. The PORTUGUEZE became Parties to PHILIP'S Quarrel with his *Netherland Subjects*, and War ensued between Them and the *Dutch*, which in the end, cost *Portugal* almost all it possessed in the *East-Indies*; In which Posture Things continued for sixty Years, when the *Portuguese* revolted from *Spain*, and Crowned the Duke of BRAGANZA their KING, who immediately

mediately made a Truce with the *United Provinces*. This however, was not well observed. A second War broke out between the two Nations; and the Quarrel was never thoroughly healed, till 1661, when a *Treaty of Peace* was concluded between Them, by the Mediation of CHARLES II, KING of ENGLAND; since which Time, Commerce has been carried on between HOLLAND and PORTUGAL, without any Interruption.

The Merchandize of this Kingdom, consists in its own Productions, and those that are Imported from the *Portugueze Colonies*, and *Plantations* in the *East and West-Indies*, *Brazil*, the *Cape de Verde Islands*, and the *Terceras*.

PORTUGAL produces *Wine*, *Oil*, *Olives*, *Anniseeds*, *Lemons*, *Oranges*, *Raisins*, and *Figs*. From the *East-Indies*, they import great quantities of *Diamonds* and *Pearls*, *Indigo*, *Ginger*, *Ambergrease*, and several other Particulars. The principal Commodities of *Brazil*, are *Sugar*, *Tobacco*, and the *Wood*, which bears its Name. The *Cape de Verde Islands*, and the *Terceras*, abound also in *Sugar*; and the *Isle of Madera*, which produces the best, is at the same time, famous for excellent *Wine*. These are the principal Commodities that are found in
Portugal

Portugal; of which the *Dutch* take off *Sugar*, *Tobacco*, and *Fruits*, in great Quantities. LISBON, is the Port They generally trade to; and hither They bring the *Woollen* and *Silk Manufactures* of *Holland*; a great deal of *Linnen*, *Spices*, *Herrings*, and other *salt Fish*, *Leather*, *Paper*, *Cards*, *Iron-Work*, *small Wares*, and *Corn*, when there is a scarcity of It in *Portugal*. The *Hollanders* employ forty or fifty Sail of Ships in this Commerce, and the *Ballance* of Trade is largely in their Favour.

GENOA, LEGHORN, VENICE, NAPLES, and MESSINA, are the principal Ports of ITALY. These afford plain and wrought *Velvets*; *Gold* and *Silver Brocades*, *Sattins*, and *Damasks*, either plain, or with *Gold* and *Silver Grounds*, wonderfully rich and beautiful beyond Expression; *Tabbies*, *Gold Thread*, &c.

It is unnecessary to say more of Commodities, that are so common amongst Us, and so generally admired. SILK is the Basis of the *Italian Trade*, and of this, the *Dutch* bring Home very great quantities in all its Shapes, whether raw, twisted, or woven; with abundance of the inferior Merchandize of ITALY, *Oil*, *Lemons*, *Oranges*, and several dried *Fruits*, *Figs*, *Raisins*, *Almonds*; with *Marble*, *Soap*, *Es-*
sences,

sences, *Allom*, *Sulphur*, *Venetian Steel*, *Amber*, *Turpentine*, *Manna*, *Creme-Tartar*, *fine Lacca*, *Snuff*, and *Glass*. *Confections*, and several kinds of *Provisions*, such as *Anchovies*, *Parmesan Cheese*, and *Sausages*, make another Article in the *Italian Commerce*; all which are purchased by the following *Commodities*, which the *Dutch* export to *Italy*, directly from *Holland*. A great quantity of *fine Spices* and *Pepper*, *Herrings*, *Cod*, *Stock-Fish*, *Salmon*, and in General, all sorts of *salted* and *dried Fish*. Abundance of *Caviear*, a great deal of *Wheat*, and other *Grain*; *Russia-Leather*, *Iron*, *Copper*, *Pitch*, *Tar*, *Masts*, *Planks*, *Hemp*, and all other *Naval Stores*. *Tin* and *Lead*; most kinds of *Woollen* and *Linnen Manufactures*, *Linnen Thread*, *Walebone*, &c. which several *Merchandizes* are brought indifferently to every *Port* above-mentioned; and to the *Inferior Ports* of the *Mediterranean*, with exception only to *Venice*, where *Cloth*, *Iron*, and *Steel*, are *Prohibited*; but all the other *Particulars*, have a *free Entry* there also.



SECT VIII.
OF THE
DUTCH TRADE
TO THE
LEVANT.



THE Trade carried on from HOLLAND to the LEVANT, is of very great Importance to the *Republic*, both for the Quantity and Quality of Merchandize exported thither, as well as that which the *Dutch* bring from thence, and distribute afterwards, with very great Profit to the different *People* of *Europe*.

Of

Of all the *Sea-Ports* within the Dominions of the GRAND SEIGNIOR, SMIRNA is the most considerable, for the resort of *European Vessels*. She is oblig'd for this Advantage to the CARAVANS, that come regularly thither with the Productions of *Persia*; and these, the *Dutch* take in exchange for the Commodities They carry to *Smirna*, which are equally proper for *Persia* and *Turkey*. The Merchandize brought by the *Caravans*, consists of *Silks*, *Muslins*, *Callicoes*, *Goats-Hair* for *Camblets*; *Rhubarb*, and *Scammony* from *Tartary*, *Galbanum*, *Tutia*, *Tppomenes*; with great quantities of other rich *Druggs*, and several sorts of *Gumms*. Besides these, *Smirna* is the greatest Market for the Productions of *TURKEY*, and the Islands of the *Archipelago*, of which, the principal are *Cardovan*, or *Turkey-Leather*, which the *Dutch* take off in great quantities; *Cotton* from *Cyprus*; *Currants* from *Zant* and *Cephalonia*; *Mastick* from *Chio*, and sometimes great quantities of *Corn* from the adjacent Islands.

After *Smirna*, Grand CAIRO is the most considerable Town for Commerce in the Dominions of the TURK. This City, is indeed, but the Shadow of what She formerly was, when the whole Trade of the *East-Indies* was carried on by the *Red-Sea*,
and

and the *Nile*; yet, She is still the general Magazine for all the Productions of the Kingdom of *Egypt*; and still retains some Commerce with *Arabia felix*, *Persia*, and the nearest Parts of the *East-Indies*. GRAND CAIRO, affords *Coffee*, *Frankincence*, *Sena*, *Aloes*, *Cassia*, *Sal-Armoniac*, *Tamarinds*, *Pine Kernels*, *Ostrich Feathers*; and several other Commodities. *Alexandria* and *Rhodes*, situated on the two Entrances of the *Nile*, are the Sea-Ports of this City, for the Reception of *Christian* Vessels; as *Damietta*, which lies on the same River, is for Those of *Turkey* and *Africa*.

I could not help saying something of *Grand Cairo*, tho' the *Dutch* have very little Trade with that City, and still less with *Constantinople* and *Aleppo*, which abound with the same kinds of Commodities, that are found at *Grand Cairo*. SMIRNA, is the Centre of all their Traffick to *Turkey*, and the *Levant*; and hither They bring vast quantities of their *Cloth*, and other *Woollen Manufactures*; many of the *Baltick* Commodities: *Steel* and *Iron*, in several Shapes, *tinned Iron*, *Iron-Wire*, and *Brass*; a great deal of *Russia-Leather*; almost all the *Lead* and *Tin*, They bring from the *East-Indies*, and all They can procure from *England*: To which we must add, many of the finest
Woods

Woods and Druggs for Dyeing; Cochineel Gumlac, and Indigo; Fernambouc, Brazillet, Siampan, and Campechy. In the Rear of these, we may reckon the *Spices*, which, by a most astonishing *Revolution in Commerce*, the *Dutch* now bring, after a difficult Navigation, of seven or eight Thousand Leagues, to those very Countries, which formerly supplied all *Europe*, with these Commodities *Cloves, Nutmegs, Mace, and Cinnamon*; with *Pepper, Ginger, and Sugar*, are brought from *Holland* to *Smirna*, in very great Quantities: And besides all these, They also carry thither several *Italian and Spanish Commodities*; For the *Dutch*, in their way from *Holland*, never fail to touch either at *Cadiz*, or *Leghorn*, where they furnish Themselves with such Things, as are proper for the Market at *Smirna*; and in the same manner, They call at those Places in their Return Home, where they dispose of many Particulars, that They bring from the *Levant*.

The *Ballance* upon this Trade, is very much against the *Dutch*; and accordingly, They carry to *Smirna*, a great Quantity of their own *Dollers*, and Pieces of *Eight*, which they buy at *Cadiz*, and *Leghorn*; yet, this is far from impoverishing *Holland*, because of the Commodities brought from

the *Levant*, not one Fourth is consumed there, and the rest, is sold out again to the several Nations the *Dutch* deal with, at a Price that sufficiently pays the Interest of the Money They advanced at *Smirna*.

The STATES GENERAL, have shewn, upon all Occasions, that They thought this Commerce, of very great Importance to their Subjects ; and have always been very attentive to every Thing that might possibly promote it. It was with this view, that They constituted a Court of *Directors*, for the Trade of the *Mediterranean*, and the *Levant* ; which consists of *six Commissioners* and a *Register*, who are charged with the Execution of all *Laws* and *Resolutions*, made by the *States General*, with relation to this *Commerce*. They nominate, with the Consent of the *States*, the *Consul* of *Smirna*, and the other *Vice Consuls* of the *Levant* : They advise the *Admiralty*, what Number of *Men of War* are necessary for Convoys, and in general, They inspect all Affairs, and terminate all Disputes concerning this Trade. The *States General* have always maintained a *Minister* at the *Porte*, in Quality of *Envoy*, whose Business consists in little more, than taking Care of the trading Interest. We now first see,

MONSIEUR

MONSIEUR CALCOEN, appointed to succeed COUNT COLLIAR, with the Title of *Embassador*, but as this Character must necessarily draw on an Additional Expence, it was very much contested by those *Provinces*, who have not an equal Interest in the Trade to the *Levant*, with that of *Holland*.

For a few Years past that the *Dutch* have been at War with the *Algerines*, their *Levant Trade* has been in a good measure, carried on in *English Bottoms*, to the great Detriment of their own *Navigation*, and the Encouragement of Ours ; but They have now made Peace with that *State*, and consequently, their own Ships will be again employ'd in this Commerce.





S E C T. VIII.
OF THE
DUTCH TRADE
TO
ENGLAND,
Scotland, and Ireland.



THE Neighbourhood of ENGLAND, and HOLLAND, naturally produced a very early Correspondence between the two Nations, which since the Formation of the *Republic*, has increased, in Proportion to the Augmentation of Commerce on both Sides, and as the Necessity of the Times required.

It shall be the Business of this SECTION, to describe *Trade*, as it now subsists, between the *English* and the *Dutch*, without examining what is well, or what may want a Reformation, which is an Enquiry I reserve, amongst others, for the third Part of this Discourse.

Our Commerce with *Holland*, is carried on almost entirely in our own Bottoms, from all the most considerable Ports in the *Kingdom*. I have already taken Notice, That *ROTTERDAM*, is in Possession of the *British* and *Irish Trades*, almost to an Exclusion of the other Towns of *Holland*, and accordingly Her Canals, are in a Manner always filled with Ships and Vessels from *London*, *Tarmouth*, and the other Ports of *Norfolk*, and from *Newcastle*, *Shields*, *Hull*, *Whitehaven*, *Liverpool*, *Bristol*, *Topsham*; and the most considerable Ports of *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

The principal Commodities sent thither from *England*, are *Woollen Manufactures* of several Sorts, *Broad-cloaths*, *Norwich-crapes*, and other *Stuffs*; *Grain* of several Kinds; *Tin*, *Lead*, and *Coals*; *Tobacco*, and *Sugar*. In the second Class, We may reckon *Tea*, *Coffee*, *Stockings*, *Hats*, and some other small Articles. Our fine *Broad-cloaths*, bear a good Price in *Holland*, for tho' the *Dutch* make

Woollen Cloath, in a tolerable Perfection, They are, however inferior to Us, in many Branches of the *Manufactory*, and particularly in *mixing* their *Colours*; and in *milling* and *shearing* the *Cloath*. Those who understand the least of the *woollen Manufactory* know, that the Beauty of *Cloath* depends very much upon the *Shearing*; and if the *Dutch* were not a People extremely tenacious of old Customs; a *Spanish Quality* that They still retain amongst Others, They had now been very well instructed how to perform that Part of the *Manufactory*, in the *English* Manner. There has been for some Years past, a *Shearmaker* in *Holland*, called *Turner*, Son to the famous *Shearmaker* of that Name, in *London*, who not only makes, grinds, and sets Shears, to the greatest Nicety and Perfection, even beyond the Imitation of Those who are commonly stiled good Workmen; but can also shear with great Dexterity. This Person first carried his Art to *Abbeville*, where having given all the Insight He could, to the celebrated *Monsieur van Robais*; He came a few Years ago to *Holland*, and found a very good Reception amongst the *Manufacturers* of *Leyden*, where He both makes abundance of *Shears*, sets a great many more, and finds the Means to have large Quantities from *London*, notwithstanding their
Exper-

Exportation is prohibited. I am very well assured, He has more than once offered to instruct the Workmen of *Leyden* in our Method of Shearing, which Nothing but an Aversion to Novelty, and the natural Perverseness of their Temper prevents Them from acquiring. *Turner*, notwithstanding the Advantages I have mentioned, remains extremely poor, through an idle, and spendthrift Disposition, so that a small Sum of Money, and his Pardon, might probably tempt him Home.

Formerly, the *English* kept Ware-houses for their Woollen Manufactures at *Dort*, which was the Staple Mart for that Trade; but at present the *Dutch* commission their Factors in *England*, to buy up what they have Occasion for, which is accordingly done, and the Goods are consigned directly to Themselves. I may add, under this Article, that besides the Cloath, the *Dutch* take from Us, for their own Use, *Holland* is the Passage for a vast Quantity of coarse woollen Manufactures of *Yorkshire* and *Lancashire*, which are consumed in the adjacent Parts of *Germany*.

GRAIN, of several Kinds, is an Article of great Importance in our Trade to *Holland*. Most of the *Wheat* the *Dutch* take from Us, is exported from *London*, and It would

be difficult to say the vast Quantities of *Malt* and other Grain that we send Them annually from *Tarmouth* and the other Ports of *Norfolk*. By an Act of *Parliament*, made in the twelfth Year of *QUEEN ANNE*, there was a Drawback allowed of *six Pence per Bushel* upon all *Malt* exported into foreign Countries, the Reason of which, I presume, was to enable the *English Merchant* to furnish the *Southern* Parts of the *Province* of *Holland*, and other Countries, as cheap, or cheaper, than those of *Amsterdam*, could do with the *Malt* They make of the *Barley* imported from the *Baltick*. The Intention of this Act was laudable, but the Abuse of It so enormous, by a fraudulent Manner of working *Malt* designed for *Exportation*, and perhaps in Shipping It too, that the *LEGISLATURE* thought It proper in the *Parliament* of 1726, to repeal that Act, as far as it relates to exported *Malt*; and not without Reason, for by the Knavery of the Exporters, *Malt* was in a Manner paid for by the *Drawback*, so that They might very well afford to sell It cheap at *ROTTERDAM*, where I have seen both *Malt* and *Barley* sold off, for little more than an honest *Malster* in *England* could prepare it, or the *Farmer* get It into his *Barn*.

TIN, and LEAD, are Commodities that need no Encouragement for Exportation. Their Value is commonly known, and they seldom fail to find a quick Market wherever they are sent. The *Dutch* buy all They can get of Us, and re-export a great deal more than They use in their Home Consumption.

COALS, are a good Article in our *Dutch Commerce*, and employ a great many Ships from *Newcastle*, and the *Northern Ports*. 'Tis more than probable too, that this Trade will encrease and grow more advantageous to Us every Year, in proportion, as the *Marshy Lands* in *Holland* are wasted; which now afford an immense Quantity of *Turf*, consumed in the common Firing of the *Netherlands*; but must one Day certainly be exhausted, notwithstanding the nature of the *Soil*, which plumps up and grows incredibly, assisted by the *Slime* and *Mud*, which the *Dutch* collect with great and constant Labour, and throw upon those Places from whence They cut the *Turf*.

TOBACCO and SUGAR, are Articles of the highest consideration, in our Trade with *Holland*, especially the former. Of *Forty Thousand Hogsheads* of *Tobacco*, that we may import from our *Colonies* in the *West-Indies*, *communibus Annis*, not less than one Third is

is sent annually to *Holland*, where a vast deal of it is consumed, and the rest sold to the *Germans*, *Norwegians*, and Others.

HOLLAND, takes off a great deal of our low prized *Tea*, and damaged *Coffee*, the Consumption, of which, is no where so general as amongst the *Dutch*; so that a good Part of what They buy of Us, is used by themselves, and the rest They retail to our *Sailors*, who run it back into all the different Parts of *England*.

There is some Demand in *Holland*, for our *Stockings*, *Hats*, and other inferior Articles, both for their Home Consumption, and Exportation.

In Return for these several Commodities, the *Dutch* send to *England*, a great Quantity of their *fine Spices*, and some *Druggs*: Abundance of *Linnen* of different sorts; *Velvets*, and other *Silk Manufactures*; a great deal of *Sail Cloth*; large quantities of *Paper*, *Rhenish Wine*, and *French Brandy*, under the Denomination of *Rhenish*; *Wines* of the Growth of *France*, sent by way of *Dunkirk* and *Calais*; Abundance of *Geneva*, and other *Spirits*; A large quantity of a certain dyeing Stuff, called *Mather*, produced in an Island of the *Maeze*; A vast number of *Slit Deals*, and fine *Wainscot Boards*; some *Herrings*, and other salted
Fish

Fish ; Many of the Commodities of *Flanders*, and *Brabant* ; as *Lace*, *Cambricks*, *Lawns* ; and to these, we may add, *Pictures*, *Toys*, and other inferior Articles.

Some of these Particulars may perhaps, come again under our Consideration in the third Part of this Book. In the mean time, I shall venture to ascertain what has passed amongst the Generality of Persons, for a moot Point, whether the *Ballance of Trade* be in favour of *England*, or *Holland* ; which, after the strictest Examination, of the Quantity and Quality, of the several *Species* of Merchandize that the two *Nations* exchange with each other, and all the Information I have been able to procure from the best Judges, as well as the Inspection of the Entries of *Imports* and *Exports* at *London*, I find, upon a *Medium* of seven Years, to be extreamly in Favour of *England* ; but were it exactly at *Par*, the Benefit derived to *Great Britain*, is greater than any that can possibly accrue to *Holland*, by all the Advantages, that naturally arise from carrying on the Trade, almost entirely with our own Ships.

The Trade between *HOLLAND* and *SCOTLAND*, is in the same Manner carried on principally by *Scotch Vessels*. These
bring

bring to *Holland* and *Zealand*, several Sorts of course *Woollen Manufactures* in large Quantities; *Lead*, and *Lead Oar*, *Coals*, salted *Salmon*, *Hides*, *Tallow*, *Corn*, and since the *UNION*, a great deal of *Tobacco*. In exchange for which, They carry back the same Commodities that are sent from *Holland* to *England*, in smaller Proportions; to which we may add, *Flax-Seed*, of which They take off annually, a very considerable Quantity.

The Trade the *DUTCH* have with *IRELAND*, is very considerable. *CORK*, *WATERFORD*, and *BELFAST*, are the principal Ports in that Kingdom, for Exportation; from whence They send to *Holland*, a great deal of *barrelled Beef* and *Butter*, *Tallow* and *Hides*, *Wax*, and some other Particulars. The Return is made principally to the Port of *Dublin*; which consists of great Quantities of the fine *Silk* and *Linnen* Manufactures of *Holland*; and in general, the same Commodities, that we have mentioned in the Article of *England*; to which we may add, *Flax-Seed*, which *Ireland* also, has lately begun to take off in large Quantities.

The end of the second PART.



BATAVIA ILLUSTRATA.

OR, AN

ENQUIRY

INTO THE

POLICY *and* COMMERCE

OF THE

UNITED PROVINCES.

OF THE

Low Countries.



PART III.





BATAVIA ILLUSTRATA.

PART III.

*An ENQUIRY into the ALLIANCES of
the STATES GENERAL, &c.*

INTRODUCTION:



ALL Conventions between Sovereign Princes, and States, are either Treaties of Peace and Commerce, or Treaties of Alliance. The *First*, which contain a mutual Promise, to do each Other no Injury, and to permit a free
and

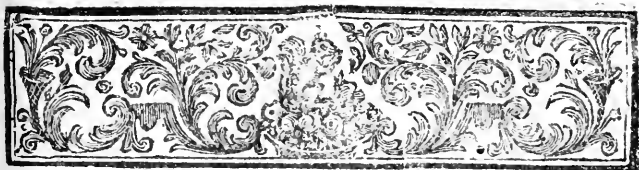
and reciprocal Intercourse between the Subjects of either Nation, are founded in the *Law of Nature*, which obliges Us to concur to the Preservation of one another. But the *Second*, which bind the contracting Parties, to the Performance of Something, which It may be They would not do, except in Consideration of the *Treaty* into which They have entered, are not always grounded on the *Law of Nature*, tho' They ought to be consistent with It; nor are They always consistent with the true Interest of the *State*, tho' They are always concluded under that Pretext.

Peace is necessary to every Country in Proportion to the Extent of its Commerce; but Experience shews Us, that Treaties are ineffectual to secure that Blessing, and as soon as *Peace* interferes, either with the Glory of a *Prince*, the particular Views of his *Ministers*, or the private Advantage of the *ruling* Members in a *Republic*, from that Moment it becomes precarious. The Name of the *public Interest* is speciously employ'd to destroy the *public Faith*, and the true Sense of a Treaty is quibbled away, or glossed over, agreeable to the good Pleasure of those that are strongest; so that a *State* ought not to expect *Peace*, any longer than
She

She is in a Condition to make *War* with Advantage.

PHILIP de COMMINES, speaking with his usual Simplicity, of the Treaties and Negotiations that were carried on between his Master LEWIS XI, and the DUKES of NORMANDY and BRITANY, says, there was a continual Succession of *Embassadors* between the *King* and those *Princes*, as well as between his *Majesty* and the DUKE of BURGUNDY; *Not to cultivate or entertain a good Correspondence between Them, but to make Discoveries; carry Intelligence; to bribe, suborn and debauch each others Ministers and Subjects, employing all sorts of Artifice and Treachery, under the specious Pretext of the public Faith, and the honourable Title of an Embassy.* Our King CHARLES II, attacked the *Dutch Smirna Fleet*, 1665, without any previous Declaration of *War*; and in that which LEWIS XIV, published against the Republic of the *United Provinces* in 1672, the only Reason his *Most Christian Majesty* thought fit to assign for It, was *That He was dissatisfied with the Conduct of the STATES GENERAL and could no longer dissemble his Indignation, without a Diminution of his Glory; wherefore He determined to make War upon Them by Sea and Land.*

It seems unnecessary to cite more Examples to shew the little Dependance that is to be had on the most solemn Engagements between different Nations. To speak Truth, Treaties of *Alliance*, owe their Invention to the Infidelity, of *Princes* and *Regents*; and, generally speaking, are no more than *provisional* Engagements, entered into for the Support of former *Treaties* of *Peace*, or the Punishment of Those that infringe Them. It were to be wished indeed, that *Trading Countries*, could subsist without any Engagements of this Kind, because then They would offend Nobody, and their *Commerce* would be *open* and *general*. I believe, I may say, This is no where better understood than in *Holland*; and yet, such has been the Fate of the *United Provinces*, that between the Ambition of their *Stadt-holders*, the ill Faith of some of their Neighbours, and the Jealousy of others, the *Republic* has never once seen it self in a State of Independancy; but has been obliged to found its Security in *foreign* Alliances, both Defensive and Offensive, tho' Nothing be more repugnant to its real Interests.



S E C T. I.
OF THE
ALLIANCES
OF THE
STATES GENERAL
With the
EMPEROR.

*Including an Examination of the 5th
and 6th Articles of the Treaty of Munster,
and of the Emperor's Right to set up the
Ostend Company.*



FROM the Abdication of the
EMPEROR, CHARLES V, and
the Partition of his Domi-
nions, to the Formation of the
first Grand Alliance, in 1689;
the German Branch of the
Austrian Family, was of little Weight in
C c 2 Europe

Europe, except within the Limits of the *Empire*. The EMPEROR was then, with Regard to the *United Provinces*, what possibly the *King of Poland* may be now; too weak to hurt Them, and situated at too great a Distance, to help Them in any Extremity; so that His *Alliance* could only serve to engage the *States* in Enterprizes contrary to their Interest without being of any Utility to Them. But since the Year 1689, or rather, since 1701, that upon the Death of CHARLES II, *King of Spain*, the *Second Grand Alliance* was formed for the Support of his *Imperial Majesty's* Pretentions to the *Spanish Monarchy*, the EMPEROR is become of very great Importance to the *Southern Parts of Europe*, as well as to Those who lye *Northward* of the *Rhine*.

That which renders his *Imperial Majesty* of immediate Consequence to the *Dutch*, is the Possession of the *Austrian Netherlands*, yielded to Him by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and confirmed by that of the *Barrier*, concluded at *Antwerp*, in 1715.

Whoever will be at the Pains of considering the former State of those *Provinces*, and comparing it with the Provision made for their Government, and Defence, by the last-mentioned Treaty, will find, that, supposing the *Austrian Netherlands* in the Hands
of

of a Friend, They are a more effectual *Barrier* to the *United Provinces* against *France*, than They have been, at any Time since the *Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle* concluded in 1668. But if we consider the *Emperor*, as an Enemy to the *States General*, the same Countries, in that Case, will be found less formidable to the *United Provinces*, upon the present Establishment, than They were, when under the Obedience of the *King of Spain*.

The better to comprehend this, we must consider, that the Towns and Citadels of *Namur* and *Tournay*, with *Menin*, *Ipres*, *Furnes*, *Warneton*, and *Fort Knocque*, which form a Chain of Garrisons upon the Frontier of the *Austrian Netherlands* towards *France*, are committed to the Custody of the *States General*, who Garrison Them entirely with their own Troops, and are obliged in Point of Interest, as well as by Treaty, to keep the Fortifications in good Repair, and the Towns well supplied with Ammunition, and all military Stores, necessary for the support of a Siege: So that, in the case of an Attack from the side of *France*, it is not to be doubted, that the *Barrier* of the *Netherlands*, would be well defended, or at least, much better than when it was in the Hands of the *Spaniards*,

Spaniards, who for a great Number of Years, have never been able to look the *French* in the Face, or hinder their encroachments upon the *Frontier of Flanders*.

But if, on the contrary, we suppose the *EMPEROR* an Enemy to the *States General*, we shall then find the *Netherlands* less formidable to the *United Provinces*, than when they made a Part of the *Spanish Dominions*. For tho' it be much more easy for the *Emperor*, to march an *Army* into *Flanders*, than it was for the *Spaniards* to Transport a Body of Troops thither, after the Reduction of their *Naval Force*; And tho' it be true, that *Holland* is liable to be attacked from the *Province of Brabant*; yet, when we remember, that by virtue of the Towns above-mentioned, the *Dutch* have it in their Power, to let the *French* into the very Heart of *Flanders*, from whence they have been so hardly driven by the *United Arms*, of almost all the Powers of *Europe*; It cannot be imagined, that the *Emperor* will reduce the *States General*, to the Necessity of having Recourse to so violent and dangerous a Remedy. And this single Consideration, I speak it with the utmost Deference however, seems to me, more than sufficient to justify the moderate Conduct of *Great Britain* and the

the *United Provinces*, since the late *Rupture* with the *Emperor* : because, according to all the Rules of Prudence and Policy, his *Imperial Majesty*, must at last acquiesce, and content Himself with possessing the *Netherlands* upon the Footing prescrib'd by the *Barrier Treaty*, rather than run the Hazard of loosing Them entirely, which must inevitably be the Case, if the Allies of *Hanover* once come to act *Offensively*; unless we can suppose the *Emperor* able to send an Army into *Flanders*, strong enough to beat the *United Forces* of *France*, *England*, and *Holland* out of the Field; which I presume, there is no *Imperialist* sanguine enough to imagine.

The Garrison of *Dendermonde*, is made up jointly of *Dutch* and *Imperialists*, but the Governour is nominated by the *Emperor*. (a) It were very much to be wished, however, that not only this Town, but that *Nieuport* and *Ghent*, were also in the Hands of the *States General*, agreeable to the 1st *Barrier Treaty*, of 1709. *Newport*, would render the *Barrier*, or the Chain of Towns, upon the *Frontier* of *Flan-*

(a) See the *Barrier Treaty* of 1715, concluded at *Antwerp*.

ders, more compleat ; and the sole possession of *Dendermonde* and *Ghent*, would secure the Communication between the Barrier Towns and the *United Provinces*, which is now liable to be interrupted. And besides this, had the *Dutch* been in Possession of *Ghent*, I believe the *Ostend Company's* Charter had never been granted ; because it would then have been in the Power of the *States General*, to break the Communication between *Bruges* and the Rest of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, which would have been an invincible Obstacle to the Commerce of *Ostend*.

His *Imperial Majesty*, has already consented to suspend his *Indian Trade* for seven Years ; and I cannot doubt, but He will at last, revoke his Charter. However, as the *Ostend Company*, is yet one of those Points which employ the Politicks of almost every Court of *Europe*, I flatter my self, the Reader will pardon me at least, if I attempt to set the Question in the truest Light I can, by describing the State of *Spain*, and the *United Provinces*, before the Treaty of *Munster*, and by adding all that I have been able to gather from very intelligent Persons, both *Dutch* and *Imperialists*, in support of their different Pretentions ; with my Reflections upon

on the Consequences that must naturally rise from the Prosperity of the *Ostend Company*, and the Revolutions that may be expected, both in Commerce and otherwise, should it be suffered to subsist.

The learned Monsieur *Barbeyrac*, (*) observes upon this Subject, that It was not to be wondered, common Men, little acquainted with the History of past Ages, and still less, with the particular Maxims of Government; very easy on the other Hand, about the Infraction of *Treaties*, provided they find their Account in it, should abet a Project, which could not be executed, without giving a stab to public Faith; because, Men of this Make are the Growth of every Climate, and of every Age. But that such a Project could be entertained by the *Imperial Council*, and patronised by the Emperor, was what *Monsieur Barbeyrac* could not so well account for. (a)

That His *Imperial Majesty*, under the Weight of so many high Obligations, to *England* and *Holland*, should in open, and manifest

* Professor of the Civil Law at *Groningen*, and Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at *Berlin*.

(a) *Détense du Droit de la Compagnie Hollandaise des Indes orientales, &c.* A la Haye, 1725.

Violation of so many *Treaties* entered into by his *Ancestors*, and confirmed by *Himself*, strike directly at the most important Interests of both the *Nations*; that instead of acknowledging the Services that have been done Him, at the expence of so much *Blood* and *Treasure*, and repaying Them with acts of Friendship, he should endeavour to tear out their Bowels; is, it must be owned, extremely surprizing, and a very great Reflection upon the *Emperor's* Gratitude and Equity. Whether this be the Case, or not, shall be the Subject of the following Enquiry; which I the rather undertake, as I every where find many well meaning Persons, who can very hardly persuade Themselves, that the Conduct of the Court of *Vienna*, upon this Occasion, is not grounded upon Right; because the *Exclusion* of a whole People, say They, from any particular Branch of *Commerce*, seems to have something in it contrary to the *Law of Nature*; upon which, all *Conventions* and *Treaties*, ought to be grounded.

In order to take a full and dispassionate View of the *Emperor's* Right to grant the *Offend* Charter, we must go back, and examine the State and Circumstances of *Spain* and the *United Provinces*, before the Peace of *Munster*, and the several Interests that
might

might engage either *Power*, to conclude that *Treaty*.

The People of the *United Provinces*, had supported Themselves in their Revolt from the Crown of *Spain*, with wonderful Success: When in 1609, a *Truce* was concluded between Them for twelve Years, under the Mediation of *France*, and *Philip III*, King of *Spain*, then acknowledged the *States General* as Sovereigns of a free and independant People. By the fourth Article of this *Treaty*, the King of *Spain* consents, that the People of the *United Netherlands* should remain in the peaceable Possession of the Places They then held in the *Indies*, and the Exercise of their *Navigation*. He prohibits only the *Dutch Commerce* to such Places in *India*, as were then possessed by the *Spaniards*, without special Passports, but leaves Them an entire liberty to drive on their Trade with his *European Subjects*, and with all other *Powers out of Europe*, that were willing to deal with Them. (a)

(a) See the 4th Article of the Treaty at large: History of the Low Countries, by *Emanuel van Meteren*, French Edit. Lib. 30. Fol. 658. Also the Negotiations of President *Jeannin*.

It may not be improper to remark, that the ten *Provinces* of the *Netherlands*, which remained in Subjection to *SPAIN*, were at this very time *excluded* from trading to the *Indies*, where They never had carried on the least *Commerce*, both by the *Laws* of their own *Sovereigns*, (*b*) and the *Decree* of the *POPE*, (*c*) which as *zealous Roman Catholics*, They were obliged to observe. *PHILIP II*, upon the Marriage of his Daughter, the *Infanta*, *ISSABELLA CLARA EUGENIA*, with the *ARCH-DUKE ALBERT* of *AUSTRIA*, gave Her by way of *Dowry*, these *ten obedient Provinces*, as They are stiled; but it is *expressly stipulated* in an Article of the *Donation*, that the *Sovereignty* of the said *Provinces* is conferred, (*d*) under this Condition, and not otherwise, that *neither the Infanta, her Husband, nor their Successors, on whom the said Provinces might devolve, should in any wise negotiate, traffick, or contract in the East or West-Indies; nor should They send any Ships thither, under any Title or Pre-*

(*b*) See Monsieur *Weserveen's* Dissertation, *Dutch*, Sect. IV.

(*c*) See *Mariana de Rebus Hisp.* Lib. 26, chap. 3. and *Selden, Mare clausum*. Lib. 1. chap. 22. page 161.

(*d*) See the History of *Emanuel van Meteren*, french Translation.

tence whatsoever, upon Penalty, in case of Contravention, that the Sovereignty of the said Countries should be forfeited. And if any of the Subjects, of the said Provinces, should presume to trade to the *Indies*, contrary to the *Meaning*, and *Intention* of these Prohibitions, their *Sovereigns* should punish them with the *Confiscation* of their Goods, and even with *Death*.

The new *Republic* had just began to taste the happy effects of *Peace*, and *Liberty*; when upon the Expiration of the twelve Years *Truce*, both Sides prepared to renew their Hostilities with fresh Vigour, and double Animosity. My Subject does not permit Me, to relate the *Events* of the *War*, which lasted for twenty seven Years, till it was put an end to by the famous Treaty of MUNSTER, concluded in 1648, an *Epocha* of the greatest Importance to the *United Provinces*.

For some Years past, the Point of greatest Consideration with the STATES GENERAL, had been, how They might best maintain that *Liberty* They had *acquired*. Some thought an Accommodation with SPAIN the best means to secure This, and Others preferred *War* to an uncertain *Peace*. The *Province* of *Holland* was for an Accommodation, because she bore more than *Half*
the

the *Burthen* of the War, and was *one Hundred and forty Millions in Debt*. (a) To this, we may add, that the DUTCH then began to suspect their Allies the FRENCH, whose *Frontiers* advanced nearer to those of the *United Provinces*, in Proportion, as their Conquests encreased in *Flanders* And besides this, FREDERIC HENRY, PRINCE of ORANGE, *Stadtholder* and *Captain-General*, of the *United Provinces*, was now grown Old and Infirm, and seemed to Patronize those who were for putting an end to the War.

If Peace was now become convenient for the *Dutch*, it was at the same time absolutely necessary for the *Spaniards*, who were reduced to a very deplorable Condition. They were at open War with FRANCE, and the Campaign was begun with the defeat of their Army at *Avein*, under PRINCE THOMAS, of *Savoy*. (b) The *Spanish Infantry*, so famous for a long train of glorious Actions, had been destroy'd at the Battle of ROCROY, by the DUKE of ANGUIEN, afterwards PRINCE of CONDE, and the Rapidity

(a) See *Annales des Provinces unies*, par Monsieur *Basnage*. Lib. I. Fol. 14.

(b) See *Basnage*, ut supra. Fol. 16.

of his Conquests in *Flanders*, gave the *French* hopes of taking the rest of the *Netherlands*, in a single Campaign. *Catalonia* had revolted and put herself under the *french* Protection. *Roussillon* was reduced by the Conquest of *Perpignan* and *Roses*. The PORTUGUEZE had shook off the *Castilian Yoke*, and crowned the DUKE of BRAGANZA their KING, who, supported by *France* and *England*, maintained his Pretensions with Success. The Insurrection at NAPLES was still a Subject of the greatest Uneasiness to *Spain*, heightened by the DUKE of GUISE's having thrown Himself into the Place, from whom They might reasonably expect all the Opposition, that the most ardent Courage, big with the Desire of Glory could inspire. In these Circumstances, vanquished by so great a Number of Misfortunes, and oppressed with so many different Enemies, who seemed all to have conspired to effect the same Design; destitute on the other Hand, of sufficient Armies for the Defence of such Provinces as were attacked, or the Recovery of Those that were revolted, PHILIP IV, resolved to make a Peace, either general, or separate, and sent the Count of Pignaranda, with Orders to this Purpose, as his Plenipotentiary, to Munster.

Such

Such were the Circumstances of *SPAIN* and the *UNITED PROVINCES*, and such the Disposition of their respective *Sovereigns*, when the Conferences were first opened. I omit to enlarge upon the Interests of the other Powers concerned in this Treaty, as foreign to my Subject. *FRANCE*, *SWEDEN*, and the *UNITED PROVINCES* were closely allied. Differences in *RELIGION* had kindled a bloody War in *GERMANY*, where the *Protestants* backed with the *victorious Arms* of *Sweden*, were every where successful against the *Emperor*, *FERDINAND III*, *unable* from thence to assist *Spain*, who was thus left to struggle singly, with all the Difficulties before enumerated. The *COURT* of *MADRID* left nothing unattempted to draw off the *French* from their Alliance with the *United Provinces*, by engaging Them in a separate *Peace*; and when this was found in Vain, the same Arts were practised upon the *Dutch*, with better Success. The *Interest* of the *Republic*, seemed to be confined to these few Particulars; that *Spain* should absolutely renounce all *Right* and *Title* to the *Sovereignty* of the *United Provinces*, and own Them for a free and independant People. Secondly, That their Country should be covered with a good *Barrier*. And Thirdly, That their *Commerce* should be secured to Them in the most advantageous Manner

Manner. The First, of these was merely Matter of Form, and easily adjusted, for *Philip III*, in the Truce of 1609, had already treated Them as a *free People*, so that this was only renewing the same Thing with greater Solemnity. The Second, was a Point of more Difficulty. The *Spaniards* had been taught, for a long Series of Years, to consider Themselves as the *first and most powerful Nation* of the *Universe*: fortified in this Opinion, by the *great and frequent Victories* of *CHARLES V*, and *enclined naturally to improve, and heighten* the favourite *Ideas* They had entertained of their *own Grandeur and Superiority*, It was not easy to make Them see their Weakness, and bring Them to Concessions, in Favour of Those whom They had always treated as *rebellious Subjects*. The Third, was still an Article of harder Digestion. Not only *Policy*, but even *common Decency* would scarce allow *PHILIP III*, *Lord of both the Indies*, to confirm the Privileges granted by the *States General* to the *East-India Company of Holland*, and much less to exclude his own *Subjects from trading within so large a District*, as was then in the *Dependance of that Company*. But the *Dagger* was at his *Throat*, and the *Necessity* was evident, either of making a *separate Peace* with the *Dutch*, or falling a *Sacrifice* to the *United Arms of France*,

D d

and

and the *Republic*. The first was most eligible in point of Prudence, tho' least conformable to the *vain* Notions of *Honour*, and *false Ideas* of *Greatness*, that then possessed the *Court* of *Madrid*; and accordingly, after a train of Negotiations, which had been carried on in different Places for near *eight* Years together, a *separate Peace* was at last concluded in 1648, between *Spain* and the *United Provinces*, at *Munster*.

By this Treaty, the King of *SPAIN* acknowledges the *STATES GENERAL*, of the *United Provinces*, with the *Countries* and *Towns* on Them depending, to be *free* and *sovereign*; over whom, the said *KING* renounces all Pretentions for *Himself*, and his *Heirs*, for ever: And thus the *Sovereignty* of the *United Provinces*, was established by the only *Power* that had any Pretension to contest it. By the third Article, the *Barrier* of the *United Provinces*, was secured against *Spain*, by stipulating, that each Party should remain in Possession of all the Places They then held; and particularly, *Bois le duc*, and its Territory, with the Towns of *Mastricht*, *Breda*, *Hulst*, and some others were assigned to the *States*.

The *fifth* Article comes home to our present Subject, by confirming the *Charters* of the

the *East* and *West-India Companies* of *Holland*, and establishing reciprocally the Right of Possession, to either Party, of the Places They then held in the *East* and *West-Indies*, comprehending likewise, all those that the *Portuguese* had taken from the *Dutch* since the Year 1641, which the *King* of *Spain* renounces his Pretensions to, in favour of the *States General*, as also all Lands and Places, which They should conquer, or acquire the Possession of hereafter, without Infraction of the present Treaty.

The *sixth* Article goes yet much further, with respect to the *East-Indies*, and it is very expressly stipulated, That the *Spaniards* shall continue their Navigation in the *East-Indies*, in the manner They had hitherto exercised it, without being permitted to extend it beyond their usual Limits. And the Inhabitants of the *United Provinces*, are prohibited to trade to such Places as were then possessed by the *Castillians*. (a)

As to the *West-Indies*, it was further agreed, in the *seventh* Article, to abstain reciprocally from prejudicing each other's Commerce.

— (a) Vide, Traites de Paix, en 1648. Tom 3. page 165.

I come now to the State of the Question, between his *Imperial Majesty* and their *High Mightynesses* the *States General*, in behalf of their Subjects, concerning the Right of Commerce, that each Party pretends in both the *Indies*.

The *Dutch India Companies* affirm, that by Virtue of their Charters and Priviledges, confirmed by solemn Treaties, and particularly that of *Munster*, They have an irrevocable Right to trade within certain districts in the *Indies*, *exclusively of the Inhabitants of the Austrian Netherlands*, in which Districts, They have constantly exercised that Right, without having been interrupted in it till very lately, by the *Imperialists*, who on the other Hand, deny that any such *Exclusion* is intended by the Treaty of *Munster*; or if it were; that his present *Imperial Majesty* is in any Degree bound by that Treaty, or obliged, in equity, to observe it.

The Words of the Clause in the *sixth Article*, of the Treaty of *Munster*, run thus. ‘ And it hath been further conditioned, and stipulated, *That the SPANIARDS shall retain their Navigation, in such manner, as they hold it at present in the East-Indies, without being permitted to extend it further: As also, the Inhabitants*

of

‘ of the United Provinces, shall abstain from
 ‘ frequenting such Places as are in the Posses-
 ‘ sion of the Castilians.

I think it is incontestable, that these Words convey the Idea of certain Limits, within which, the *King of Spain* ought to confine his Navigation, and Commerce; and the *Dutch Civilians* observe that, there is a very essential Difference in this reciprocal Stipulation ; for the *Dutch* engage Themselves only, *not to trade to the Places held by the Spaniards*; whereas, the *King of Spain*, is not only obliged to restrain the Navigation of his Subjects within their *Old Limits*, and prohibit Them the *Dutch District*, but They are likewise excluded all other Places in the *Indies*, which They had not as yet frequented: and since this Exclusion was condescended to in Favour of the *Dutch*, It is a very natural Consequence, that They must gain what the *Spaniards* lose; so that a vast *Field* is left open to Them; They may extend their Commerce on all Sides; conquer upon the *Portuguese*; and settle in any Part of the *Indies* not occupied by the *Spaniards*, all which They are to possess with an entire *Exclusion* of all the Subjects of *Spain*. If it be objected that the *Limits* within which the *King of Spain* should confine his Navigation, are not expressed; the

Answer is, that They were perfectly and vulgarly known at the Time of making this Treaty. The *Philippine Islands*, had hitherto been the *non plus ultra* of the *Spaniards*, reckoning from the *Streights of Magellan*, which was the only Course their Ships had kept, or could keep, by Virtue of the *arbitrial Sentence* of POPE ALEXANDER VI; so that the Rest of the *Indies*, from the *Phillippine Islands* to the *Cape of Good Hope*, was left open to the *Hollander*. And this, indeed, agrees very exactly with the 34th Article of the Privileges granted by the *States General* to their *East-India Company*, where it is expressly ordered, ‘ That no Person, of what
 ‘ Condition or Quality soever, shall pre-
 ‘ sume to Navigate in the *East-Indies*, on
 ‘ the other Side the *Cape of Good Hope*,
 ‘ or, by the *Streights of Magellan*, up-
 ‘ on Penalty of forfeiting the Ship and
 ‘ Cargo.

’Tis now proper to see what the *Imperialists* offer in Support of their *Pretensions*, and how They affect to understand those Articles of the Treaty of *Munster*, that We have now explained.

The First, and indeed, their principal Objection, relates to the last Clause of the 5th Article. The Question is, who are included in the Stipulation of that Clause;
 and

and what we are to understand, by the Engagement entred into, by Those whom It shall be found to concern, *to retain their Navigation in the same Manner, that They possess It at Present in the East-Indies, without extending It farther.*

Monfieur Nany, and other zealous Advocates of the *Ostend Company*, press the Letter of the Treaty, and affirm, that as the *Castilians*, or *Spaniards* alone are named, so the Stipulation regards Them only, but does not in the least bind the *other Subjects of Spain.*

But, in Answer to this, the *Imperialists* may be asked, if It be at all uncommon, for all the Subjects of any *Prince, who has several distinct States*, to be designed by the Name of Those that *inhabit the most considerable Part of his Dominions.* Any one that will give Himself the Trouble of turning over Treaties, may find many Examples of This, and indeed, there is Nothing more common in ordinary Language. In all the Treaties, made between *England* and other *States*, if every Time the Word *English* is used, It were to be pretended that the Subjects of *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, are not to be understood, or comprehended; this would certainly tend to reverse the Sense and Purport of the clearest Engagements, and open a Door to a thousand Chicanes.

But it will be very easy to demonstrate, from the Nature of the *Affair in Question*, that the Intention of both the contracting Powers, was to extend what is stipulated concerning the *Spaniards*, or *Castilians*, namely, to all the Subjects of *Philip IV*, indifferently.

It was beyond all Contradiction the Design of the *United Provinces*, to secure to Themselves for the Time to come, a *distinct* and *separate* Right of Commerce, within the Districts of their *India Companies*. The very Difficulties, and Disputes They had met with on this Head, in their Negotiations with *Spain*, for a long Time before the Treaty of *Munster* could be concluded, are a Proof of This. For, if the Question had related barely, to the *quiet Possession* of such Places as the *Dutch* then held in the *Indies*, and the *Liberty of trafficking* with other Nations, and Powers who might be willing to deal with Them, there is not the least Ground to imagine, that *Philip IV*, who passionately desired Peace, and considering the Condition of his Affairs, had abundance of Reason to desire It, would have made so great a Difficulty, of consenting to those Articles that related to the *Indian Commerce*, since This, as I observed just now, had been already granted to Them

Them by his Predecessor *Philip III*, by the Treaty of the *Truce* in 1609. The *Dutch* observe farther on this Head, that the *King of Spain's* Concession, is *relative* to the Charters of their *India Companies*, which He confirms in all their Extent. 'The
 ' Navigation and Commerce, of the *East*,
 ' and *West-India Companies*, shall be main-
 ' tained according, and in Conformity to
 ' the Charters, on that Head already given, or
 ' that may be given hereafter.' These Char-
 ters do not barely confine the two *Compa-*
nies to the Districts They then possessed, with
 the Liberty of trading with other Nations,
 but They exclude from those Districts, de-
 termined by certain Bounds, all the Sub-
 jects of the *united Provinces*; and *Philip IV*,
 in confirming these Charters, ought surely
 to be construed to have confirmed Them
 for all his Subjects.

But in Reality, the *King of Spain's* own
 Interest demanded, that this Confirmation
 should bind all his Subjects of every De-
 nomination. For, after having consented,
 tho' with Pain, to confine the Commerce
 of his best beloved Subjects the *Castilians*,
 within certain Limits in the *Indies*, It can-
 not be imagined that He would make their
 Condition still more disadvantageous, by
 giving his Subjects of the *Low Countries*,
 leave

leave to trade to *India*, either within his own District, or That of the *Dutch*, which must visibly diminish the Profit made by the *Spaniards* or *Castilians*, in whose Favour, both He and his Ancestors had hitherto carefully excluded all their other Subjects from that Commerce, and particularly *Those of the Low Countries*.

There was, indeed, no Necessity, either from the Interest of the *King of Spain*, or the *States General*, to insert the Name of any other People, than That of the *CASTILIANS*, or *Spaniards*, in those Articles of the Treaty of *Munster* that relate to Commerce; because the *Exclusion* of the People of the *Austrian Netherlands*, held valid by all Parties for so long a Time, subsisted still in its full Force; and as it was not expressly revoked or moderated in any Degree, must from thence be construed to be confirmed.

The *Roman Civilians*, and *Grotius*, all agree, that where disputes arise concerning Compacts, the Intention of the contracting Parties, must be examined into. (a) And

(a) Semper in stipulationibus, & in cæteris contractibus, id sequimur, quod actum est, &c. Lib. 34. D. de Reg. Jur.

if it be possible to discover this, the same regard must be paid to it, as if it had been actually expressed. (b) I think it is evident from what has been said, that the *Intention* of *Spain*, and the *United Provinces*, was, that the *Prohibition*, under which, the People of the *Austrian Netherlands* lay, to trade to the *Indies*, should remain in Force: That the *Castilians*, or *Spaniards*, only should be allowed to trade to *India*, within their old *District*; and that all other Subjects of *Philip IV*, of every Denomination, should remain as They were before, utterly excluded from the Commerce in Question.

But the *Imperial Advocates*, do not only attempt to prove, that the *Treaty of Munster*, as far as it relates to Commerce, does not regard the Subjects of the *Austrian Netherlands*: They would willingly understand the Rest of the Treaty in a manner, that I conceive the Words, and natural Sense of it, cannot possibly admit.

‘ All the Demands, says *Monsieur Nany*,
(a) ‘ Of the two *India Companies* of Hol-

(b) Nam in contrahendo, quod agitur, pro Cauto habendum est, Lib. 3. D. de. Reb. Cred.

(a) See la Refutation de Monsieur Nany Sect. 2. Pag. 19

‘ land, at the *Congress of Munster*, went no
 ‘ further, than to obtain of the KING of
 ‘ SPAIN, by way of *Sufferance*, the Permis-
 ‘ sion, and Liberty to navigate and traf-
 ‘ fick, according to the Tenour of their
 ‘ Charters. It is surprizing then, adds He,
 ‘ and shocking to the last degree, to pre-
 ‘ tend at this time of Day, that the Per-
 ‘ mission given Them to this purpose,
 ‘ by his *Catholick Majesty*, may be ex-
 ‘ tended to the *Exclusion* of those who
 ‘ were his proper Subjects, in Countries,
 ‘ where the *States General* did not think
 ‘ their own Commerce secure, unless the
 ‘ said *Prince* authorized it, by his Con-
 ‘ firmation of the above-mentioned Char-
 ‘ ters; which ought to be confirmed by
 ‘ Him, because they had been granted du-
 ‘ ring the *War*, and at a time, when the
 ‘ *King of Spain* did not acknowledge the
 ‘ *States General* as free and sovereign, but
 ‘ considered Them as his Subjects.

It is not easie for the most disinterested
 Person to read this Paragraph of *Monsieur*
Nany’s, with common Temper. Sure at the
Treaty of Munster, the *States General* stood
 in no need of a *Toleration*, for their Na-
 vigation and Commerce in the *Indies*, flow-
 ing from the *King of Spain’s Goodness*, and
 Condescension. The Face of Affairs was
 very

very much altered since the Truce of 1609, and yet even then, They obtained something more in Point of Commerce, than a precarious Liberty dependant on the *good Pleasure of the Court of Madrid*. The *Sovereignty* of the *States General* was no longer, in the main, a contestable Point, any more than their *Right to trade to the Indies*. They had strengthened Themselves so well, both in one and the other, that *Philip IV*, could not flatter himself, with any probability, of Success in his attempts to deprive Them of either. And indeed, it is evident, from the whole Course of the *Negotiations*, and the Conduct of his *Plenipotentiaries* at *Munster*, that the Views of that *Prince* were confined to the *Preservation* of his own Commerce in *India*, and to hinder the *Dutch* from *Invading* it. Agreeable to this, we find the *Embassadors* of *Spain*, complaining, that the *Dutch* pretended to tie down their *Master*, from carrying his Arms into *Brazil*, to reduce the *Portuguese*, his rebellious Subjects; and from extending his Navigation and Commerce in *India*, to Places out of the *Dutch District*, that were absolutely free and independant. This I apprehend, is something more than a Confirmation of their Charters, and a bare Liberty

Liberty of Traffick, or a Tolleration, as Monsieur Nany expresses it.

Another Argument, equally artificial and frivolous, made use of to evade the force of the Treaty of *Munster*, is this. *Philip IV*, say They, *contracted merely as King of Spain, and Lord of the Indies*; but not as *Duke of Brabant, Count of Flanders, or Sovereign of the other Provinces of the Low Countries.*

It will not be contested, that a *Prince*, who has several *distinct* States, may make a Treaty, which shall regard one of them, and not the other; but the Question is, whether the *King of Spain* treated in that manner, or not. Every Body will allow, that the *Ratification* of the *Sovereign*, is that alone, which gives Force and Sanction, to a Treaty; and in that, which *PHILIP IV*, gave to the Treaty of *Munster*, all his Titles are inserted; *King of Spain; Duke of Burgundy and Brabant; Count of Flanders, &c.* Nor is there any Example to be cited in the whole Treaty it self, that He stipulates, or promises any thing, sometimes under one Title, and sometimes another.

Those who invented this Distinction, may be apt to say indeed, that this is no more than the common stile used in the Preamble of all Treaties; and that no Consequence will arise from It. But there is

a very particular Clause in the Ratification, which leaves no Room to chicane. ‘ PHILIP
 ‘ IV, declares solemnly, that he approves and
 ‘ ratifies the Treaty, for *Himself*, his *Heirs*,
 ‘ and *Successors*; as also for his *Vassals*, *Sub-*
 ‘ *jects*, and *Inhabitants* of his *Kingdoms*, *States*
 ‘ and *Lordships*, as well in *Europe*, as out
 ‘ of *Europe*, and this, without any *Exception*,
 ‘ in all its *Parts*, and *Contents*, and in each
 ‘ *Point*, and *Article* separately, &c. He o-
 ‘ bliges to this Purpose, all and every his
 ‘ *Kingdoms*, *Countries*, and *States*, as also,
 ‘ all his other *Demefns* present, and to come;
 ‘ his *Heirs*, *Successors*, and *Descendants*; so
 that, it would hardly be possible to ex-
 press in stronger Terms, any Engagement
 entered into by a *Prince*, in behalf of all
 his *Dominions*, consisting of various *Pro-*
vinces, by whatsoever Title He may possess
 them. In my Apprehension, therefore, *Phi-*
lip IV, has shut the Door to all immagina-
 ble Exceptions. He obliges all his *Heirs*
 and *Successors*, who shall come after Him,
 in the *Low Countries*, as well as in *Spain*:
 He obliges all his *Vassals*, *Subjects*, and *In-*
habitants, of all the *Countries* of his *Do-*
mination in *Europe*, and out of *Europe*,
 without any Distinction: He restrains both
 his *Heirs* and his *Subjects*, whosoever they
 may be, to the observation of all the *Ar-*
ticles

ticles of the Treaty of Munster, in General, and each of them in particular; and as those Articles in question, are the most considerable, it is not to be doubted, that if they were only to bind a part of his Subjects, Care would have been taken to have inserted the Exception.

And thus I think it is evident, that the *true Sense* of the *Treaty of Munster*, and the *Intention* of the contracting *Parties*, was to *confine* the Navigation and Commerce of the *Spaniards* or *Castilians* to their old Limits; excluding Them entirely from the Districts of the *Hollanders*, and all such Places as the Dutch should conquer afterwards, or extend their Commerce to, without *Infracti*on of that Treaty. And Secondly, That this Exclusion, must bind all the Subjects of his *Catholick Majesty* equally; because, as *Philip IV*, made War upon the Republic of the *United Provinces* both as *King of Spain*, and *Sovereign* of the *Low Countries*, So he must be considered as the same Person at *Munster*, ratifying the Peace made there, in *Quality* of *King of Spain*, *Duke of Brabant*, *Count of Flanders*, &c. And consequently that the Articles of the Treaty, are equally binding to the Inhabitants of all these Countries, under the common Relation of Subjects, to one and the same Prince.

After

After having ascertained the Sense and Extent of the 5th and 6th Articles of the Treaty of *Munster*, I come now to examine the other grand Assertion of the *Imperialists*; that supposing the true Sense and Intention of the *Munster Treaty* to be as we explain It, yet the *present Emperor* is not bound by It.

‘ His *Imperial Majesty*, say They, does not possess the *Austrian Netherlands*, as Successor to CHARLES II, late KING of SPAIN, but as One of the Successors of the House of *Burgundy*, in the same manner, as his august Ancestors possessed Them before the Accession of PHILIP LE BEL to the Crown of *Spain*.

Here follows what *Monsieur Nany* has advanced to this Purpose, translated *Verbatim*.

‘ Few Persons are ignorant, (a) that the *Netherlands* did never belong to the most august House of *Austria*, as a Dependence of the Crown of *Spain*, but as Successors of the House of *Burgundy*, whose Dominions They inherited, before They were at the Head of the *Spanish Monarchy*, and it was under this Title, that

(a) Refutation de Monsieur Nany. Sect. 8. Pag. 7. 8.

‘ his *most Christian Majesty*, delivered up to
 ‘ the *States General*, for, and in Favour
 ‘ of that most august House, All which,
 ‘ that Prince, and his Allies, were possessed
 ‘ of, in those Countries, commonly called
 ‘ the *Spanish, or Austrian Netherlands*, in
 ‘ the Month of *April, 1713*, as likewise
 ‘ the Towns of *Ipres* and *Furnes*, with all
 ‘ their Dependances ; and it was likewise
 ‘ in Favour of the *same Title*, that *Mes-*
 ‘ *sieurs* the *States*, delivered up to his *Im-*
 ‘ *perial Majesty*, all the Places, Towns, and
 ‘ Countries, which They had the Admi-
 ‘ nistration of in his Name, as may be
 ‘ seen, by the *19th, 20th, and 21st Ar-*
 ‘ *ticles* of the *Treaties of Radstat and Baden*,
 ‘ and by the two first Articles of the
 ‘ *Barrier Treaty*, of *1715*.

‘ The Stipulations made and provided,
 ‘ by the several Articles of these Treaties,
 ‘ evidence in the strongest Manner, that
 ‘ the *Austrian Netherlands*, are for ever
 ‘ united to the Dominions of the most au-
 ‘ gust House of *Austria*, and that the *So-*
 ‘ *vereignty and Property* of Them, are vest-
 ‘ ed in his *Imperial Majesty*, no otherwise
 ‘ than as *Sovereign and Proprietor* of the
 ‘ said *Netherlands*, and as *Chief* of the
 ‘ said House, and consequently, in the same
 ‘ Manner, as his august *Ancestors* possessed
 them

‘ them before the Accession of Philip le
‘ *Bel*, to the Crown of Spain.

From whence, *Monsieur Nany* (a) concludes;
That the *Dutch* mistake Themselves; and
reason after a very odd manner, ‘ when
‘ they say, and repeat continually, that as
‘ the *Emperor* is *Heir* and *Successor* of the
‘ late *Catholick King*, He is consequently
‘ engaged to execute the *Treaty of Munster*;
‘ in all its Extent, and oblige his Subjects
‘ to observe it.

Another *Advocate* (b) of the *Ostend Com-*
pany, who is anonymous, expresses Himself
thus. ‘ The *Emperor* possesses those Pro-
‘ vinces, in Quality of chief and sole *Heir*
‘ of the *House of Burgundy*. And from
this incontestable Principle, as He thinks
fit to call It, He draws a Consequence
very proper for the Cause He undertakes to
defend, ‘ That a *King of Spain*, not hav-
‘ ing it in his Power, by any Treaty or
‘ Agreement, to prejudice a *Prince* who
‘ is in his own Right *Heir* to the *House of*
‘ *Burgundy*; Neither the *Treaty of Mun-*
‘ *ster*, nor any Other entered into by
‘ *Spain*, can in any Degree, bind his Im-
‘ perial and *Catholick Majesty*, any further,

(a) Pag. 9.

(b) See Lettre a un Ami en Hollande. a Bruxelles.

' than He may have ratified Them Himself.

If these Gentlemen only pretend, that *with Respect to the Treaty of Munster* the present *Emperor* cannot be considered as *Heir to the Monarchy of Spain*, except in *Quality of Successor to the Dominions of the House of Burgundy*, amongst which are the *Netherlands*, This is no new Distinction, but the same that was just now refuted, by which They endeavour to distinguish, between the *King of Spain* and the *Sovereign of the Low Countries*; for it is in *Quality of Heir to the House of Burgundy*, that CHARLES II, succeeded to the *Netherlands*. But when They ascribe to the present *Emperor*, a *distinct Right*, by *Virtue of which*, He stands *exempted* from the *Observation of any Treaties made by the Kings of Spain*, his *Predecessors in the Low Countries*; and go back as far as MAXIMILIAN I, pretending, that his *Imperial Majesty* ought to possess the *Low Countries*, in the same manner, that his *august Ancestors* did, *before the Accession of Philip le Bel to the Crown of Spain*; This, if it has any Signification, must mean thus much; that his *Imperial Majesty*, is *immediate Heir to Maximilian I*, and not to *Charles II*, or his *Ancestors*.

But

But this will be easily refuted, from the best Authorities in History, and the most incontestable Principles of the Law of Nations.

The *Emperor Maximilian I.*, having married *MARY*, the *Heiress of Burgundy*, only Daughter to the last *Duke Charles the hardy*, that *Princess* brought Him, by way of Dowry, the seventeen *Provinces* of the *Netherlands*, and all the other Dominions of the *House of Burgundy*. From hence, it is evident, that *Maximilian* did not possess these *Provinces* in his own Right, which can only be said, of his Son *Philip le Bel*, King of *Spain*, on whom they devolved by maternal Succession. And in Conformity to this, we see, that after the Death of *Mary of Burgundy*, *Maximilian* governed the *Low Countries*, only as *Guardian to his Son*.

That *Prince*, then *King of the Romans*, (a) got Himself declared *Guardian* of his Children by the *States of Brabant*; an Example that the *States of Flanders* refused to follow, for as much as depended on Them; and some Years afterwards, in 1488, They chose new *Magistrates at Bruges*, in

(a) Pontus Heuter : Rer Austriac, Lib. 2. Chap. 1.

the Name of *Philip*; when *Maximilian* was declared *incapable of the Guardianship of his Son, and his Dominions*; (a) and being afterwards released from his Imprisonment, He swore solemnly, (b) that he acquitted the *States of Brabant* of the Oath they had taken to Him, as *Father and Guardian* of his Son; Five Years after which, *Philip* took the Government upon Himself, (c) and was Installed by all the *States of the Low Countries*, in the Presence of his *Father*, then *Emperor*.

So that, if his present *Imperial Majesty* has no *Title* to the *Sovereignty* of the *Low Countries*, but what he draws from *Maximilian I*, it will follow by an undeniable Consequence, that He has no *Right* or *Title* to It at all: Since *That* of *Maximilian*, was only a *Temporary Right*, which He exercised for some time in the Name of his Son *Philip le Bel*, afterwards *King of Spain*. And thus. the *zealous Advocates* of *Ostend*, by founding Their Master's Right to the *Sovereignty* of the *Netherlands*, in that of *Maximilian I*, do no more in Reality, than

(a) *Pontus Heuter. Rer. Austriac. Lib. 3. Chap. 3d.*

(b) *Idem, Ibid, Cap. x.*

(c) *Idem, Lib. 5th, Chap. xi.*

rob Him of a good Title, to give Him a bad one.

All Distinctions apart, the short Question is, If the *present Emperor* be *Heir* to the last *King of Spain*, *Charles II*, or not. He has lately acquired the *Sovereignty* of the *Low Countries*, which *did not belong to Him before*, but to *CHARLES II*, who was indisputably *Chief*, and *Heir* of the *House of Burgundy*; and one would be apt to esteem it a reasonable Conclusion, that his *Imperial Majesty* cannot now become such, except in *Quality* of his *Successor*.

CHARLES V, Son of *PHILIP LE BEL*, was he alone, of all the *House of Austria*, who ever possessed the *Dominions* of his *Family* in *Germany*, and those of the *House of Burgundy* together. This very *Prince* was the Person too, that dismembred Them, and united the *Low Countries* for ever, to the *Crown of Spain*; assigning at the same time, the *Empire*, and his *Hereditary Dominions* in *Germany*, to his Brother *FERDINAND I*, and from this time, the *German Branch* of the *Family*, was *divested of all its Pretentions to the Netherlands*. 'Tis true, that these *Pretentions* were *recoverable*; but only so, as an *Heirship*, that might possibly one Day devolve on the *Family*, by de-

fault of Issue in the Branch of Spain, which, on the other Hand, might have perpetuated itself to the End of the World, and the *Fosterity* of the *German Branch* in that case must have stood for ever excluded.

To corroborate what has been said, we may appeal to the most solemn and authentic Acts of the *three last Emperors*; Testimonies that will surely find Credit with all the World, preferably to the bold Assertions, and subtle Distinctions, of the *Ostend Advocates*.

By the Declaration of War, published against the *Kings of France, and Spain, Lewis XIV. and Philip V*; by the Treaty of the *Grand Alliance*, and by all the *public Pieces* that have been published in the Name and in Favour of their *Imperial Majesties*, It appears, that they have always avowed Themselves *the sole Heirs of Charles II, last King of Spain, and all his Dominions*.

The beginning of the Treaty of the *Grand Alliance*, runs thus: ‘ And forasmuch as the late *King of Spain, Charles the Second, of Glorious Memory*, having left no Issue, his *sacred Imperial Majesty* has affirmed, that the *Succession of the Kingdoms and Provinces, of the deceased King*, appertains lawfully to his *august House, &c.* And the other public Pieces all speak the same Language. Since

Since then, the present *Emperor* is *Heir* and *Successor*, it not in the Whole, yet in Part, to the last *King* of *Spain*, considered as *Duke of Burgundy*, &c. And that it is from the same *Title*, that He derives his *Right* of *Sovereignty* to the *Low Countries*, It will necessarily follow, that He must possess them upon the same Footing, as *Charles II*, did, with all the *Stipulations*, and *Conditions* tied to that *Part* of the *Succession*, which He inherits.

This is a Consequence drawn from the most incontestable, and universally received Maxims, of the Law of Nations, as well as of the Civil Law. But let us suppose for a moment, that any other plausible Title could be alledged, than That of *Succession* to *Charles II*, yet even This will prove Nothing, because his *Imperial Majesty*, when he received the *Sovereignty* of the *Low Countries*, did by the very Treaty which secured that Succession to Him, give up some of those Rights, which, had He been possessed of another Title, He might have pretended to.

The 1st Article of the *Barrier Treaty* provides expressly, that his *Imperial Majesty* and his *Successors*, shall hold the *Provinces* and *Towns* of the *Low Countries*, in the same Manner, as the late *King Charles II*, of glorious Memory

Memory, *did or ought to have enjoyed Them.* And his *Imperial Majesty* is again particularly engaged by the *26th Article*, to provide and take Care, *That Commerce, and all that depends on It, shall remain, in all and every of its Branches, upon the established Footing; and in the Manner provided by those Articles of the Treaty of Munster, concluded the thirtieth of January 1648, between his Majesty, King Philip IV, of glorious Memory, and the Lords the States General, that relate to Commerce, which Articles are confirmed by the present Treaty.*

If it were necessary to multiply Authorities, to settle the Sense, and Meaning, of the *Munster Treaty*, we might appeal to Custom; and I believe it will weigh extremely with all thinking Men, that the *Dutch*, and after Them the *English*, have enjoyed their Commerce and Navigation in the *Indies*; for above seventy Years, conformably to the true Intent of That, and other subsequent Treaties, without ever meeting with the least Interruption from the People of the *Austrian Netherlands*. In all this Time, there is but one single Instance, that a Subject of the *Spanish Low Countries*, attempted to navigate within the *Dutch Districhs*. This was one *Sebastian Brower*, and as soon as It was known at *Batavia*, the *Governour General* gave Orders

ders to the *Captains* of the Company's Men of War, to take *Brower*, which He being informed of, forbore his Voyages. This Man's Attempt, and the Opposition made to Him by the *Dutch*, were both very well known in *Europe*, as well in *Holland*, as at *Madrid*; and the *Dutch Company* approved the Proceedings of their *Governour*, but the *King of Spain* took no Notice of the Affair, which He certainly would have done, had He believed the Conduct of the *Hollanders* unjust, or Inconsistent with the Treaties that then subsisted between *Spain*, and the *United Provinces*.

Upon the Whole, I think it may fairly be concluded, that by Virtue of the 5th and 6th Articles of the Treaty of *Munster*, the *Inhabitants* of the *Austrian Netherlands*, are excluded from trading within the Limits prescribed by the Charters of the *Dutch India Companies*: That their Condition, in this Respect, is not altered by the Change of Government, in the *Austrian Netherlands*; and that the *Emperor* is bound to hold Them in the same Condition, both as Successor of the last *King of Spain*, *Charles II.*, and by Virtue of the Treaties He has Himself Personally engaged in.

If any Thing could make void the Stipulations contained in the 5th and 6th Articles

cles of the *Treaty of Munster*, It must either be, that the Things stipulated were contrary to *Justice* and *Equity*, or that *Philip IV*, had not Power by Virtue of the *fundamental Laws* of his *Sovereignty* over the *Low Countries*, to exclude Them from the *Indian Commerce*.

But it is uncontestable that there is Nothing contained in these Stipulations, contrary to *Justice* and *Equity*, unless we suppose that by the *Law of Nature*, and *Nations*, a People cannot lawfully be deprived of the Liberty of trading wherever They please, upon any Account whatsoever. But tho' we extend the natural Liberty that all Men have to Navigation, and Commerce, to the utmost Extent, yet It will be impossible to prove, that this is an *unalienable Right*. There is no Principle in the *Law of Nature* which binds Us not to divest our selves of the Liberty of Navigation and Commerce; or, that obliges Others not to exact a Renunciation from Us, in those Points, by lawful Means, tho' in their own Favour. The Care that every Man is obliged to take of his own Preservation, and of Those that depend on Him, does not enjoin Us, to preserve this Liberty *in all its Extent*.

The

The vast *Ocean*, indeed, is not the Property of any particular Nation; Nothing is plainer, than that every One is naturally free to sail upon it; nor can it be denied that every Man has a natural Liberty, to negotiate and trade with any Other, that is willing to deal with Him. But what shall hinder *two Princes*, or, *two Nations* from contracting with each Other, that One of Them shall not fit out such and such Ships, or that These shall not Sail further than such a Part of the Ocean; or, into this or that particular Sea, or that They shall not trade to such a particular Place. Of these kinds of Compacts there are a great Number of Examples, and if there were None, It would be impossible to prove that They are either *unjust* or *cruel*, except They reduce One of the contracting Parties, to the Want of such Things as are *necessary for Life*, and could not be procured, unless *by the Commerce or Navigation prohibited*. In this Case the Care of our own Preservation recommended so strongly to every Man by Nature, would bring a just Exception to the Rule.

But if there be *within our own Country*, or *in any other Country*, without the Limits regulated by the Treaty, not only wherewithal to answer the *Necessities and Conveniencies of Life*,

Life, but likewise to *furnish Riches*; can any Thing be less rigorous, than a Clause which should prohibit Navigation to some certain Places; *especially if this Exclusion extends only to very distant Countries, that make as it were a new World to Us*. And, indeed, It is sufficient that We renounce, *by Agreement*, to any Rights We may have had before. The Power of renouncing, and divesting our selves of such Rights as We may have a Mind to give up, and the Right which Others acquire by such a Renunciation, instead of destroying our natural Liberty, is essential to It, which would otherwise, not only be *unuseful*, but *troublesome* to Us, if we could not *relinquish a Part of our Right*, or the *Practice of It*, upon such Conditions as We thought proper; or by Way of Exchange for such Conveniences, or Considerations, as may be offered to Us by Others.

This Renunciation, when it respects a *whole People*, may be made either *directly*, or *indirectly*; by all Those that are interested, or by Those *who act in their Name*, and are invested with a just Power to restrain Them to the Observation of the Treaty 'Tis then the very same Thing, as if all in General, and each in Particular, had signed the Articles, and sworn to the Observation of Them. At least, if We pretend not
to

to be bound by such an Ingagement, tho' *It should even be contrary to Our Right*, yet we must be obliged to enter our Protest against *It in Time*; But if there be no such Thing done, and on the contrary We have submitted our Selves, especially, for a long Time, to the Conditions imposed by the Treaty, We cannot afterwards pretend to exempt ourselves from the Observation of *It*, upon any Pretext whatever, without a Manifest Violation of the most incontestable Rules of the Law of Nature, and Nations There is Nothing in which the *Civilians* agree more unanimously than in This. They go so far as even to admit a tacit Renunciation, founded only upon a Man's having neglected, or forborn to urge his Right against Another, who may have possessed Himself of such a certain Navigation, or of a Fishery in any particular Part of the Ocean. (a) Nor are these to be called *Subtilties* or *Evasions* of the *Civil Law*, but reasonable Decisions equally conformable to the *Law of Nature and Nations*. There are a thousand Ex-

(a) Si quisquam in Fluminis publice diverticulo Solus pluribus Annis piscatus sit, alterum eodem uti jure prohibet, Digest. Lib. 44. Tit. 3. De divers. temp. Præscriptionis. Leg. 7.

amples to be given, where a tacit Consent, is acknowledged by all civilized Nations, to have equal Force with the most solemn Conventions; nor can It be contested, without opening a Door to numberless Difficulties, which must produce endless Wars, and Hostilities, to the utter Ruin and Destruction of Mankind.

The Law admits the Force of this tacit Consent, even in Point of Property, between Man and Man. My Neighbour contrives to Bring a Water over my Land to his own, and I see It; He continues the Practice for a long Time, I suffer It; the *Aqueduct* shall then subsist for the Future, without my Consent; and I am fairly deemed to have allowed voluntarily that the Water should take that Course, because I did not hinder It in Time. (a) Then sure, with greater Reason, a *Renunciation* must in It self be lawful, and irrevocable, which is made by an express Convention.

It remains now to enquire, if a *Sovereign* has Power, as such, to oblige his Subjects,

(a) Si Aquam, per Possessionem Martialis, eo sciente, duxisti, Servitutem, Exemplo Rerum immobilium, Tempore quæstisti. Cod. Lib. Tit. 34. de Servitut. & Aqua, Leg. 11.

by Treaty, to abstain from any particular Commerce, by Sea, or Land.

The Power of regulating Commerce between Subjects and Subjects, and between Them and Strangers, has ever been considered as a *fundamental Right of Sovereignty*. (a) If this be denied by the *Imperialists*; They may be asked why the Subjects of the *Austrian Netherlands*, who have lately attempted a Commerce to the *East-Indies*, thought They had any Need of the *Emperor's Permission*, and whether It was not in that *Monarch's Power to refuse Them*; This will hardly be contested; and had He thought *fit* to have refused Them, He would in that have exercised an *Act of Sovereignty*, as effectually, as by granting Them his Permission.

A *Prince* may certainly forbid all his Subjects, without Exception, to trade to this, or that foreign Country; and by Virtue of the very same Authority, He may contract with another *Prince*, and engage that his Subjects shall not follow this, or that particular Trade; who,

(a) See *Gasper Zeigler*, de Juribus Majestatis Lib. 1. Cap. 41.

upon the Promulgation of such a Treaty, are obliged to abstain from the Commerce interdicted.

But let Us come still nearer to the point in Question, and enquire what Hardship the *People* of the *Low Countries* incur, and what they lose by this *Exclusion* of the *Treaty* of *Munster*. The Answer is, a *Right* of *Navigation*, and *Commerce*, of which hitherto, *they had never made the least use*; but certainly a future *Exclusion* from what they had never yet enjoyed, could be esteemed no great Cruelty: And if it be said, that the *People* of the *Austrian Netherlands*, had voluntarily abstained for so long a time from the Commerce in Question; the Consequence will lye against Them, that they had it not very much at Heart: But if, as the Truth is, we say, that the *Prohibitions* of their *Sovereigns* were very stricktly observed, We must likewise own, that the *Continuation* of *those Prohibitions*, could not be called an extraordinary Hardship. He that has lived a long time in the Want of any Thing, may continue the Disuse of it, without any Violence to Himself; and much less are we sensible of the want of that, which we never enjoyed at all.

But if we consider the Circumstances of the *Austrian Netherlands* at the Treaty of
Munster,

Munster, we shall find, that this *Exclusion* must then have carried quite another Face than at present ; and had nothing in it that appeared insupportable. A *greater Interest* than that of *Commerce* pressed Them closely, and demanded, that those People should consent, and agree patiently, *for their own sakes*, to the Continuation of that, which They had hitherto suffered from the *Commands of their Sovereign*. They were weary, and harrassed with a long War, which They could put an End to, by no other means ; and reduced as they were, there is no Room to doubt, that They would have bought their Peace with the Loss of a *more valuable, and less contestable Privilege*, than that of the *Indian Commerce*, had it been insisted on. Cases of Necessity, like these, will always have their Weight, in spite of common rules, and the most indisputable Privileges. They authorize the *Sovereign*, to give up by Treaty, such Things, as if there was no such necessity, ought never to be dispensed with ; and in these Cases, more than ever, the *tacit Consent* of the People, must be esteemed valid, and equal to the most public and solemn Concurrence.

It is vain, for the *Imperialists* to object, that the *other People of Europe*, are free to undertake

undertake this Commerce ; the Freedom of others proves nothing in Favour of those who have given up their Liberty.

But to spare my self, and the Reader, the Trouble of citing *Treaties*, and *Examples*, of a *Limitation*, and *Restraint set to the Commerce*, and *Navigation*, of One of the contracting Parties, I shall close this Part of my Enquiry, with two Citations, from two of the greatest Men of the Age They lived in, whose Authority, Nobody will venture to dispute, GROTIUS, and PUFFENDORF, The first of whom, expresses Himself thus. (a) ‘ Nations, as well as particular Persons, may give up, in Favour of others, not only those Rights which are peculiar to Themselves, but those likewise which are common to Them with the Rest of Mankind.

Monsieur Puffendorf, expresses Himself thus, (b) ‘ No Power can lawfully hinder other Nations, not His Subjects, who may border upon the Ocean, from trading with each other; unless one of these Nations has engaged Herself in his Favour, not to per-

(a) Grotius de Jure Belli et Pacis. Lib. 2. Cap. 3. Sect. 16.

(b) De leg, Nat. et Gen. Lib. 4. Cap. 5. Sect. 10.

' mit Another to come and negotiate with
 ' Her ; or that This, has not renounced the
 ' Right She might have originally to trade
 ' with the Other. Every one is at Liber-
 ' ty to relinquish his Right to whom He
 ' pleases, provided that by so doing, no
 ' Prejudice is done to a third Person. If
 ' an European People have acquired a Coun-
 ' try in Africa, or the Indies, by any Means,
 ' which, according to the received Custom
 ' of Nations, is sufficient to give a good
 ' Title, They may if They please, abso-
 ' lutely refuse the Ports and Commerce of
 ' that Country to any other trading People, or
 ' permit Them only upon certain Conditions,
 ' and under such and such Duties. This
 ' is practised every Day, and in Rea-
 ' lity I see Nothing in It, that is contrary
 ' to the Law of Nature. For this Liberty
 ' of Commerce, which makes so much Noise,
 ' does not prohibit any State from favouring
 ' Her own Subjects, and preferring their In-
 ' terest to that of Strangers.

Thus I think It is made Evident, that
 by the 5th and 6th Articles of the Treaty of
 Munster, the People of the Austrian Nether-
 lands, are excluded from all Commerce within
 the Districts of the Dutch Companies in In-
 dia; that the Emperor is obliged to main-
 tain that Treaty, both as Heir and Successor

to *Charles II*, late *King of Spain*, and by *Virtue of Treaties*, and *Conventions*, entered into by *Himself*; and what is still more, that there is no *Cruelty*, no *Hardship*, nor any *Injustice* done to the *People of the Austrian Netherlands*; who, when the *Munster Treaty* was concluded, would doubtless have been glad to have purchased a *Peace*, at a much dearer *Rate*, than the *Continuation of an Exclusion* already imposed upon *Them*, by their *Sovereigns*.

I come now to examine into the *Consequences* that will naturally arise from the *Prosperity of the OSTEND COMPANY*, and the *Revolutions* that may be expected in *Commerce*, should the *EMPEROR* maintain his *Charter*. But before I enter upon this *Subject* I must desire the *Reader* to cast his *Eye* back to the *Account* we have given of the ancient *State of Commerce* in the *Austrian Netherlands*, when under the *Government*, of the *DUKES of BURGUNDY*, and *KINGS of SPAIN*, (a) some of whom endeavoured, rather to decrease, than augment It; which will be of *Use* to instruct *Us* what may be expected from the *Revival*

(a) Part 2. Pag. 258.

of Commerce in those Countries under all the Influence of Royal Favour.

I have already taken Notice of the advantageous Trade the *Dutch* have carried on for a long Time past with the *Austrian Netherlands*; and I need not inform the Reader, that should the *Ostend Company* subsist, there must be an entire Stop to the Importation of all *Indian Commodities* into *Flanders*, as well from *England* as *Holland*, with Exception to the *fine Spices*, which are only to be had from the *Dutch*. This is too clear to want any further Explanation. Prohibitions have been made for some Time to this Purpose, and It is self evident, that as *England* and *Holland*, supplied the *Austrian Netherlands* with all the Productions of the *Indies*, before the Establishment of the *Ostend Company*, so the Profits accruing to both the Nations from their *India Trade*, must be lessened in Proportion to the Gains which that Company makes by its Commerce.

But the Loss which the *English* and *Dutch* would sustain from hence, tho' a Point of the greatest Consideration, is far from being the worst They have to expect from the Prosperity of the *Ostend Company*. It must be remembred, that *Bruges*, *Ghent*, *Brussels*, *Mechlin*, and *Antwerp*, all subsist;

with many other large Towns, situated at small Distances, inhabited by an active People, extreamly devoted to Commerce; and as the *Ostend Company's* Charter is formed very much upon the Model of that granted by the STATES GENERAL, to the *Dutch East-India Company*, so Care is taken, that the great Towns of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, like those of the Province of *Holland*, shall all feel an immediate Influence from the *Indian Commerce*. Thus whilst the *public Sales* of the *Company's* Goods are confined to *Ostend* and *Bruges*, the *Charter* directs the *general Assembly* of the *Company*, to be held for the first three Years at *Antwerp*, afterwards at *Ghent* and *Bruges*, and so alternatively, at one of these Places, till the Term of it, which is thirty Years, expires. So that, were the *Company* to subsist, there is an ample Foundation laid for the Revival of the long alienated *Manufactures* and *Fisheries*, that have formerly flourished in these Provinces; to which are added, the *East* and *West-India Trades*, which They never yet enjoyed; and these, I think, must in time, produce a *naval Power*, and a *general Commerce*, equal perhaps, to that which was formerly carried on in *Brabant* and *Flanders*.

It

It requires very little Reflection to see that it is impossible for the FLEMMINGS to become a trading People, without the utmost Damage to the Commerce of *Great Britain* and *Holland*. Should Navigation be revived in the *Low Countries*, and the EMPEROR, with all the assistance of his Allies, ever be able to fit out a *Fleet* strong enough to look the *English* and *Dutch* in the Face, 'tis certain he would attempt to open the *Scheld*; and should this once be done, it is more than probable, that *Antwerp* and *Bruges* will recover from *Amsterdam*, the Trade they formerly lost to Her. This indeed, is a remote Prospect, considering the present strength of the *British Fleet*, and the weakness of the *Emperor* in naval Force: And yet, it may well deserve our Consideration, even at this distance. *Fisheries* are a Nursery for *Seamen*, as *Manufactures* are the Basis of a general Commerce; and if we reflect upon the strange Revolutions that have happened in the maritime Forces of the several Powers of *Europe*, within a short Tract of Time, We shall find that we cannot be too watchful, nor too resolute in our Measures to suppress the Navigation of the *Austrian Netherlands* in its Infancy. In 1588, the *Spanish Fleet* was the

Terror

Terror of *Europe*. *America* and the *Netherlands*, those distant Branches of the *Spanish Monarchy*, were in a Manner joined to the Continent of *old Spain* by the Force of Navigation; yet in little more than threescore Years, this prodigious Power was so reduced, that the *Spaniards* were under the Necessity of hiring *Dutch Vessels*, to carry on their Trade to the *West-Indies*. (a) Few Persons are ignorant from how despicable a Beginning the *Dutch* derive their naval Power. In 1572 They first began to cruise upon the *Spaniard*, with twenty four poor Ships, got together by the Count de la Marque, and Commissioned by WILLIAM I. PRINCE of ORANGE; (b) but in 1588, They were able to block up the DUKE of PARMA in the Ports of *Flanders*, by which They had the Honour of concurring with the *English* in the Defeat of the *Spanish Armada*; and in 1610, Sir Walter Rawleigh, computed that They had not less than twenty Thousand Vessels, of one Kind or other, in the *United Provinces*. So vast an Encrease of Shipping in the Course of 39 Years, ap-

(a) See *De Wits Memoirs*, Part 2, Page 129.

(b) *Grot. Ann. Lib. 2.*

pears prodigious; yet such are the constant Effects of *Commerce*, in the Hands of an active industrious People. In the Middle of the last Century, the Dominion of the *Narrow Seas* was contested between *England* and *Holland* with Fleets of one hundred and twenty Sail, of the *Line of Battle*, on the Part of each Nation, whilst *France* had very few Ships either for *War* or *Traffick*; yet since that Time, we have seen the *French* able to cope with the combined Fleets of *England* and *Holland*, and at the Instant I am writing, *Great Britain* has more effective Ships of *War*, than *Spain*, *Holland* and *France* joyned together.

If we look into the *North*, we shall find the naval Forces of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, reduced to near one Third of what They were formerly; whilst *Muscovy*, which thirty Years ago, had not a single Ship, would now be found equal to the whole joynt Force of all the other Maritime Powers, in the *Baltick*.

I need not say more, to show the Probability of the *Emperor's* acquiring a naval Force, if Trade be suffered to revive in the *Austrian Netherlands*: a Point that deserves the utmost attention of *England*, because there is Nothing the Nation ought to apprehend more than to see *Flanders* in the
Hands

Hands of a *Prince* who should at the same Time be powerful at *Sea*.

The Isles of *Zealand* bar the Entrance, of the *Scheld*, and up higher, the Passage to *Antwerp* is absolutely commanded by the Forts *Henry* and *Lillo*, with some other Garrisons in the Hands of the STATES GENERAL; so that as long as the *Zealanders* continue firm to the *Union*, the Emperor, cannot open the Navigation of this River, without a Superiority at Sea. *Fort Henry*, *Lillo*, and the other Garrisons on the *Main* may be taken, but without being stronger than the *Dutch* in naval Force, It would be impossible to attack *Zealand*. PRINCE MAURICE was so sensible, of the advantageous Situation and Strength of these Islands, that He once told the *States General*, that rather than conclude a shameful Peace, with the *Spaniard*, he would continue the War with the Assistance of the *Zealanders* alone, and had not the *Court of Vienna* now been sensible of the Difficulty of opening the *Scheld*, ANTWERP had certainly been made the chief Seat of their *India Company* from the Beginning. But this Difficulty would vanish in Proportion, as the EMPEROR should grow powerful at Sea, and therefore, It would be Insensibility in *Great Britain* and *Holland*, to sit still and see Him extend his Navigation.

When

When ever his *Imperial Majesty* should find Himself strong enough to execute his Designs, there is no Reason to suppose He would shew more Respect to one Part of the Treaty of *Munster*, than the Other; He would be for driving the *Dutch* entirely out of *Flanders*, and for restoring the Canals of *Sas*, *Swin*, and the other Mouths that open into the Sea, on the side of the *States General*; and then if *France* should so far forget her Interest, as to break the Engagements she is entered into by the Treaty of *Hanover*, or if a civil War, or any other unfore-seen Accident should disable Her from complying with Them, what shall stop the Course of the *Imperial Arms*, or who will be answerable, not only for the *Dutch Flanders*, and the Garrisons of the *States General* in the *Barrier Towns*, but even for the Safety of the *United Provinces*? The same Arguments, by which it is maintained, that the present EMPEROR is not bound by the Treaty of *Munster*, nor Successor to the late KING of SPAIN, CHARLES II, will prove as well, That He is not bound by any Treaty, entered into by his Predecessors, the *Kings of Spain*, since the Accession of *Philip le Bel* to that Crown, and consequently those Treaties, by which the Sovereignty of the *United Provinces* are confirmed, are absolutely

absolutely null and void: All things must return to the State they were in, in the time of MAXIMILIAN I; the *Emperor* is *Lord* of the *United Provinces*, and all Acquisitions that have been since made by any Power whatever, of any Part of the antient Patrimony of the House of *Burgundy*, are all likewise void; we cannot except one any more than the other, and all without Distinction, must return into the *Emperor's* Dependance. Indeed, the Arguments brought to prove this, are manifestly absurd, but Absurdities lose their Quality, when supported by an Army of a hundred and fifty Thousand Men, and if a War should break out between the several Powers engaged in the Treaties of *Vienna* and *Hanover*, it is beyond all doubt, that the *Emperor* would invade the *United Provinces*, under this Title, bad as it is; in which Case, if Success should attend the *Imperial Arms*, ZEALAND, which from the Nature of its situation, must be last attacked, would probably endeavour to avoid the Storm, by making Peace with the Conqueror; and in that Situation, the best she could expect, would be, to be re-united to the *Austrian Netherlands*, and so become a part of the EMPEROR's hereditary Dominions. The *Scheld* is then
open,

open, and the *naval Power of Zealand*, at his *Imperial Majesty's Devotion*, to be employed for the Protection, and Encouragement of the Navigation and Commerce of *Antwerp*, and the rest of the *Netherlands*.

The Mischiefs that *England* and *Holland* may apprehend from such a Situation of Affairs are innumerable, and therefore It is certainly the Business of both Nations, by all possible Methods to obviate the Danger. But though the *SCHELD* should never be opened, and the Communication of the *Austrian Netherlands* with the Sea, remain as at present, by *Ostend* and *Nieuport*; yet there is a sufficient Foundation laid for the Revival of *Fisheries* and *Manufactures* in those Provinces, the certain Consequences of which, are *general Commerce*, with a *naval Power*; and It is equally incontestable, that the People of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, cannot enjoy the One, except at the Expence of *Great Britain* and *Holland*; nor that the *EMPEROR* can be Master of the Other, without breaking the *Ballance of Power in Europe*.

I will conclude my Reflections upon this Head, with observing, That the *Austrian Netherlands*, are full as well situated, as either *England* or *Holland*, for making an
Exchange

Exchange of Commodities between the Northern and Southern Parts of Europe, and in many Respects may hope for much greater Advantages in Points of Trade, under the Protection of the Emperor, than either England or Holland can promise Themselves, even in the most favourable Conjuncture. His IMPERIAL MAJESTY is Master of Sicily, Naples and Milan; and to facilitate a Correspondence, or rather to force a Commerce between those Countries and the Austrian Netherlands, He would undoubtedly prohibit the Importation of such Commodities into Sicily and his Italian States, either from England, Holland, or any other Nation, as They might be furnished with from Brabant and Flanders. As He is of very great Weight in the Northern Parts of Europe, He would, probably, find means to conclude a Treaty of Commerce with the CZAR of MUSCOVY, by Favour of which, His Subjects might furnish Themselves with the Commodities of Russia, upon better Terms than those of England or Holland. As He is Protector of Hamborough, He would certainly be able to facilitate the Importation of Herrings, and Salted Fish of all Kinds, from the Netherlands into that City, as well as woollen Manufactures, and other Particulars, now furnish-
ed

ed by the *English* and *Dutch*, which would be from thence distributed into the different Countries that border upon the *Elbe*. As ARCH DUKE of AUSTRIA, He would prohibit the Commodities of *England*, and *Holland*, in the *Hereditary* Dominions of his Family; and in Quality of EMPEROR, He would be able to influence the Course they have at present in many other Provinces of *Germany*. As his Power should encrease, He would be equally industrious to destroy the Liberties of *Cologne*, and put a force upon the Navigation of the *RHINE* as the *Dutch* have hitherto been to preserve both. The same Thing may be expected from Him, with Regard to *LIEGE* and the Navigation of the *MAEZE*. And Lastly, As the Dominions of his *Imperial Majesty* are contiguous to those of the *OTTOMAN PORTE*, It will always be in his Power, by yielding some small Advantages to the *TURKS* upon the Frontier of *Hungary*, to settle such Conditions of Commerce, both for His *Italian* Subjects, and those of the *Austrian Netherlands*, as will enable them to Trade to *SMIRNA*, and the other Ports of the *GRAND SEIGNIOR'S Dominions*, to better Advantage than the rest of *Europe*.

These being necessary Consequences of the *Ostend Company's* Prosperity, the STATES GENERAL must have Recourse to *foreign Alliances* to oblige the *Emperor* to suppress It. But when-ever his *Imperial Majesty* shall content Himself with possessing the *Austrian Netherlands*, upon the Footing prescribed by the *Barrier Treaty* of 1715, their HIGH MIGHTINESSES will be so far from giving Him any Disturbance, that They will always concur in a *defensive Alliance*, for preserving the Succession of those Provinces in the *Imperial Family*, and for securing Them from any Encroachments on the Part of *France*, if that *Crown* should again attempt their Conquest, after the Example of LEWIS XIV, whose Conduct was regulated upon the ambitious Plans of *Richlieu* and *Mazarine*.

A defensive Alliance between the *Emperor* and the *States General*, against *France*, is very advantageous to the *united Provinces*, because It is not only grounded upon a *common Fear*, where the Danger is equally to be apprehended by both the Parties; but the *Emperor* being first exposed to the Attack, must be the first to perform the Conditions of the *Treaty*: a Point which the *weakest* of the *contracting Powers* ought always to have a special Regard to.

But

But an Alliance with his *Imperial Majesty*, against any Power of the Continent, except *France*, would, in all Probability be useless to the *United Provinces*, because the *Emperor* is too considerable to be attacked by any other of his Neighbours; and were the *States General* engaged in a Quarrel, It is very much to be feared, that instead of performing the Conditions of the *Treaty*, in the Quality of a faithful Ally, his *Imperial Majesty* would rather chuse to foment the Dispute, and be pleased to see two inferiour Powers destroy one another, whose Forces being united, might be formidable to Him.





SECT. II.
OF THE
ALLIANCES
OF THE
STATES GENERAL
WITH
FRANCE



HE Animosity which the old
DUKES of BURGUNDY bore
to the KINGS of FRANCE,
having been transmitted
with their Dominions, to the
House of AUSTRIA, It was
very natural for the PRINCE of ORANGE,
WILLIAM

WILLIAM I. and the STATES of the UNITED PROVINCES to expect a powerful Assistance from the *French*, to support them in their Revolt against PHILIP II. But the Civil Wars that Distracted *France* during the Reigns of *Francis II.* and CHARLES IX; The detestable Intrigues of KATHERINE DE MEDICIS, and the private Agreement made between the Courts of *France* and *Madrid*, to exterminate the *Protestants* in their several Dominions, were the Causes why the CROWN of FRANCE either could not, or would not give that Assistance to the revolted *Netherlands*; which by all Rules of good Policy, It ought to have done, in order to reduce the exorbitant Power of the House of *Austria*.

HENRY III, who succeeded CHARLES IX, did not understand his Interest better than his Predecessor; but the *King* of *Spain* having broke his Faith with Him in a most treacherous Manner, by supporting the DUKE of GUIZE, and the CATHOLIC LEAGUE, HENRY lent the *Netherlanders* several Sums of Money, and at last, permitted his Brother, the DUKE of ALENCON, to accept the Sovereignty of the *Low Countries*, which was offered Him by the Confederate States; yet the *King* never durst profess Himself the Protector of the *Nether-*

lands, and by the small Assistance He gave his Brother, his *Majesty* appeared rather to connive at the Undertaking, than approve It. The Truth is, *Henry III*, was so much harrassed by GUIZE, at the Head of the *League* on one Side, and by the *Hugonots* on the other, that he was able to do very little; and to this we may add, that He was both Jealous of *Alencon*, and unwilling to encourage rebellious Subjects

To this Prince, succeeded the great HENRY IV, who by a long Train of glorious Successes, the Effects of an unparallel'd Valour and Conduct, destroy'd the *League*, broke the Designs of *Philip II*, and restored the *Crown of France* to its former Dignity. This Prince openly declared Himself a Friend to the *United Provinces*, and at one Time might be said to have rivalled QUEEN ELIZABETH in the Friendship and Affection of the *States General*. At least the *Queen* was Jealous of the Alliance formed between the *King* and the *United Provinces* in 1596, by which they engaged to furnish his *Majesty* with *four hundred and fifty Thousand Florins*, for the Service of the ensuing Campaign, and the *King* obliged Himself to attack *Flanders* with a considerable Army, in order to make a Diversion in Fa-

vour

vour of the *United Provinces*. (a) But the Peace of *Vervins*, concluded between the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* in 1598, restored Things to their former Situation; the *Dutch* were forced to supplicate *Queen Elizabeth's* Friendship in the humblest Manner, and that politic Princess, made Them pay the Price of their Inconstancy, by obliging the *States* to settle the Debt They owed to *England*, at a Time when They were not in a Condition to Dispute It with Her; which being done, She restored Them to her Favour, and was their Protectrice to the End of her Life: After which, They were again obliged to have Recourse to the *King of France*, who was ever afterwards their faithful Ally.

The Friendship and good Intelligence that subsisted between HENRY IV, and PRINCE MAURICE, was revived in the Reign of his Successor LEWIS XIII, between Prince FREDRIC HENRY, and CARDINAL RICHLIEU, who found a Union of Councils with the *States General*, necessary for

(a) *Grotius* Ann. Lib. 10. Also, L' Histoire des Provinces Unies, par le Noble, Tom. 2. Pag. 223.

perfecting his ambitious Schemes for the Elevation of the *French Monarchy*. MAZARINE followed the Example of his Predecessor ; but in Proportion as the Force, and Grandeur of the *Spanish Monarchy* diminished under that of *France*, the Animosity of the *States General* towards the first, gave Place to a Jealousy of the growing Power of the Latter. They were of Opinion that if the *French* should once annex *Flanders* to their Dominions, It would be impossible to hinder Them from conquering the *United Provinces*, when ever they should think fit to attempt It, and in this Fear they concluded a Peace with *Spain*, at *Munster*, in direct Opposition to CARDINAL MAZARINE, who omitted neither Promises nor Threats to prevent It. (a)

Before the Reign of HENRY IV, the *French* subsisted entirely by Agriculture: They had few Manufactures, and little or no Shipping, so that hitherto, the Interests of *France* and *Holland* could not interfere in Maritime Affairs; and the Grandeur

LEWIS XIV, in several Letters to Count de Estrades, cites this Peace, *la Defection des Hollandois*. See D' Estrade's Memoires.

of the *Spanish Monarchy*, which menaced the Kingdom of *France*, as well as the *Republic* of the *United Provinces*, obliged Them to give each other all possible Assistance on the Continent. But when HENRY IV, had concluded the Peace of *Vervins*, and restored the Domestic Tranquillity of his Kingdom, the *French* applied Themselves to Manufactures with a great deal of Industry: The Welfare of Commerce began to be the Care of the *French Cabinet*. RICHLIEU, and MAZARINE, amidst the numberless Intrigues in which They were engaged, had a constant Eye to the trading Interest, and during the Ministry of the Latter, the Manufactures fabricated in *France* were more than all *Europe* could consume.

It is very much to be wondred at, however, that so great a *Genius* as *Richlieu*, should not have extended his Care to the Promotion of Navigation. If the *French*, during his Administration, had begun to export their Manufactures and the several Productions of *France* in their own Ships, they would soon have been too powerful for the Rest of *Exrope*, and the Circumstances of that Time, seemed to invite them to the Undertaking. *Richlieu* had broke the Strength of the *Hugonots*, and was Master of the
Coast

Coast, and *Sea-Ports* of the Kingdom; the Naval Power of *Spain* was reduced; The supine Temper of JAMES I, and the Troubles that distracted *England* in the Reign of his Son, left Them no Room to apprehend any Obstruction on the Part of *Great Britain*: And the Alliance of *France*, was hitherto of so great an Importance to the *United Provinces*, that the STATES GENERAL durst not have quarrell'd with that Crown upon any Score whatsoever. It must be allowed on the other Hand, that the Arbitrary Government, and Religion of *France*; the light Temper of the Natives, and the false Pride of the Nobility, were all of Them strong Impediments to a general Commerce; and whether CARDINAL RICHLIEU thought Them insurmountable, whether being Himself a Stranger to Commerce, He was unwilling to give any Body else the Credit of performing so great a Work; or, that He postponed the Execution of It in Hopes of a Conjunction still more favourable, I shall not take upon me to determine; but 'tis certain, the Want of *Merchant Ships*, and a *Naval Power*, made the Alliance of the *United Provinces* absolutely necessary to the *French*. During all the Reign of *Lewis XIII*, and for near Thirty
Years

Years of that of his Successor, the Ports of *France* were continually filled with *Dutch Vessels*, which were employed not only in a general Commerce between that Country and the rest of *Europe*, but even in transporting the *French* Commodities from one Part of the Kingdom to another.

CARDINAL MAZARINE saw the Omission of his Predecessor, and would have repaired it, had He not been prevented by the Violence of those Factions that reigned in *France*, during his Ministry. But when He had got the better of his Enemies, and after OLIVER CROMWEL, in compliance with his personal Interests, rather than those of the Nation, had embraced the Alliance of *FRANCE*, and declared War against *SPAIN* in 1655, the Cardinal then fell up n Measures to promote the *French* Navigation, and acquire a naval Power.

I shall make no Scruple to date the Grandeur and Superiority of *France* over the rest of *Europe*, from the Year 1655. 'Tis certain, that before this Year, *France* had never thought it her Interest to quarrel with the *Dutch*, tho' provoked to it by the separate Peace they had made at *Munster*. That Crown, on the contrary, had been very careful to cultivate an Alliance with the
United

United Provinces, to prevent their joining with the *Spaniards*, which might prove an Obstacle to the *French Conquests* in *Flanders*; But from the time that CROMWEL declared Himself, *Mazarine*, was so far from being anxious to preserve the Friendship of the *States General*, that He not only obstructed their Commerce by extravagant *Imposts*, but suffered their Merchant-Ships to be attacked by *French Privateers* in the *Mediterranean*; and if we may believe the *Dutch Writers*, the CARDINAL Himself had a considerable share in the Booty. MONSIEUR FOUQUET, *Sur-Intendant* of the *French Finances*, was authorised to establish several Companies, for the *Herring, Cod, and Whale Fisheries*. The KING granted them very great Immunities, and the Importation of *Whale-Fins, and Oyl*, into *France*; was prohibited to all others. Besides this, a Duty of *fifty Sols per Tun* was laid on all foreign Ships, both at their coming in and going out of the Sea-ports of *France*.

The DUTCH, who were far from bearing these Indignities tamely, sent a Squadron of Men of War into the *Mediterranean*, in the latter end of the Year 1666, under the Command of ADMIRAL RUYTER, with Orders to make Reprisals. Their Admiral did his Duty, and took two Ships of
War

War, belonging to the *King of France*, which *Mazarine* had shamefully hired out to serve as *Privateers*, to particular Adventurers, on Condition of receiving one third of the Prizes that should fall into their Hands. The taking of these Vessels, set the Court of *France* in a flame. *Ruyter* was stiled a *Pirate*, because in giving Chase to the *French*, he had hoisted *English Colours*, in order to deceive them. 'Twas said, that if the *Dutch* had suffered some losses from *Privateers*, yet they could not charge the *King's Officers* with having done Them any Damage, whereas *Ruyter* had taken two Ships that immediately belonged to his *Majesty*. They said, that so great an Affront could not be attoned for, but by the Blood of Him who was the Author of it ; that the Resentment of the *Crown* should even be extended to the whole *Dutch Nation*, and that *France* ought to declare open War with the *Republic*. This Heat was moderated however, by the *Chancellor Segair*, and *Monsieur de Villeroy* ; but even these *Lords* could not hinder the *Court* from sending Orders to seize all the *Ships* and *Effects* belonging to the *Dutch*, that should be found in the *Sea-Ports* of *France*.

MAZARINE was encouraged to act in this haughty manner, by a private Treaty, which
He

He had just concluded between his Master LEWIS XIV, and OLIVER CROMWEL, by the 6th Article of which, the PROTECTOR obliged Himself to furnish that *Prince* with a *Squadron of thirty six Men of War*, to cruize upon the *Spaniard* and the *Hollander*. (a)

In the mean Time the *Dutch Minister* at the *Court of France* received Orders from his Masters, to represent their Astonishment at what had passed, with Relation to the Seizure of the Ships and Merchandize belonging to their Subjects; and on the other Hand Monsieur DE THOU, his *most Christian Majesty's Ambassador* at the *Hague*, was commanded to justify the Procedure of the *French Court*, to require that an exemplary Punishment should be inflicted on the Person of RUYTER, and to complain of the indecent Liberty taken by Monsieur BOREEL; *Embassador of the Republic at the Court of France*, in his Remonstrances to the *French King*, at a public Audience. (b)

(a) In this Treaty the *Protector* is called *invincible*, and the Treaty it self is stiled *Secretum et invisibile Fœdus*, See the Treaty at large *Recueil des Traitez Tome. II* p. 729.

(b) See the Speech of Monsieur de Thou to the *States General* April 1657. *Annales* Book 37. p. 52.

The several Memorials and Representations that were made reciprocally by both the Parties, having failed to accommodate the Quarrel. the *States General*, ignorant of the private Treaty concluded between *France* and *Oliver Cromwel*, came at last to very vigorous Resolutions in Behalf of Themselves and their Subjects. It was determined to have a Fleet of *forty eight Sail of Men of War*, which should block up the Ports of *France*, and seize every thing that attempted either to go in or out. All manner of Commerce with *France* was prohibited, and Orders were sent to all the *Sea-Officers* to attack the *French Ships*, where ever they met them. (a) But when the Dye seemed to be cast, and all Men expected to hear of the first Blow being struck, an obliging Letter from the *most Christian King*, to the *States General*, restored the Calm. (b)

It was very natural for the *States* to lay hold of any thing that gave them Hopes of terminating the Dispute by way of Negotiation. The Necessity they were under of having *French Manufactures* to carry on their Trade with other Nations, obliged them to tempo-

(a) *Annales des Provinces unies. Basnage Fol. 489, 490.*

(b) This Letter is dated from *Sedan*, August 15, 1657.
Signed *Lomenie*.

rize ; but it is likewise true, that the ill Usage they received upon this Occasion, first inspired them with the Design of setting up several Manufactures in *Holland*, which had hitherto been peculiar to *France*. (a)

The Resolution the *States General* shewed on occasion of this Rupture with *France*, proceeded from an utter Ignorance of the secret Treaty concluded between that *Crown* and *Oliver Cromwel*. Had they been in the least apprized of that Alliance, they durst not have entertained a single Thought of War against two such formidable Powers. On the other Hand, the *French King's* Conduct deserves a Reflection. Either the *Cardinal* was fearful, that the *Dutch Trade* being withdrawn, *France* would not be able to continue the War against *Spain* and the *United Provinces* ; or He was doubtful whether the Conditions of the Treaty he had made with *Cromwel* would be performed ; and perhaps this Suspicion was well grounded. I have already said, that the *Protector* entered into this Alliance with *France*, in Compliance with his *personal* Interests, rather than those of the Nation. It was *Cromwel's* greatest Interest to prevent the

(a) See Part 2d. p. 276.

Restoration of the Royal Family. The *Dutch* were more capable of bringing this about than any other foreign Power, because they alone had a Fleet sufficient to transport an Army, and cover a Descent. But the *Protector* was easy on that side: The short but ruinous War between the *Parliament of England* and the *United Provinces* had shewed the *Dutch* how dangerous it would be to provoke a Man who had the whole Force of *Great Britain* in his Power; and besides this, *De Wit*, was at the head of Affairs in *Holland*; the *Prince of Orange* was excluded from the Honours and Authority which had been enjoyed by his Ancestors, and the Friends of that House, from whom *CHARLES II.* could only hope for Assistance, were discouraged and out of Employment.

FRANCE and *SPAIN*, were the only remaining Powers from whom the *Royal Family* could possibly receive any effectual Assistance; but neither of them was disposed to afford it. The two Kings on the contrary, strove who should flatter *CROMWEL* most. *Mazarine* offered to buy his Friendship at the Price of *Dunkirk*, when it should be taken from the *Spaniards*, and the *Arch-Duke* who governed in the *Netherlands*, promised to besiege *Calais* and restore it to the *English*, if that might engage him to declare for *Spain*. In these

Circumstances, perhaps the wisest Course had been to have sat still, and entertained both Sides in Suspence, under Favour of which the Commerce of *Great Britain* could not fail to have flourished. But the *Protector* was not easy at Home. Some of those who had been the Means of his Elevation, either from Envy or a true *Republican* Principle, were become his Enemies; the Nation was accustomed to *War*, and seemed to take Pleasure in it; all which induced *Cromwel* to break with some of his Neighbours, that he might find Employment abroad, for those busy Spirits, which it left at Home, would certainly have engaged in popular Commotions.

Thus the *Protector*, having resolved a *War* from a Motive of self-Interest, the same principle made him prefer the Alliance of *France* to that of *Spain*; because PHILIP IV, was neither so redoubtable an *Enemy* as LEWIS XIV, nor so capable of serving *Cromwel* in the Quality of a *Friend*. The principal Dominions of *Spain* were situated at a great Distance from *England*; and as to the naval Power of that *Crown*, which had lately been the Terror of the Universe, it was now so reduced, that when in Consequence of the above-mentioned Treaty, Monsieur DE TURENNE formed the Siege of *Dunkirk* with the confederate Troops of *France* and *England*, a
small

small Squadron of *English* Ships served to block up the Port, and prevent the Garrison from receiving any Relief by Sea. In these Circumstances the *Spaniards* run a very great Risque of having their *Flota* fall into the Hands of the *English*, and to this, we may add, that the ill Condition of their Affairs in the *West-Indies*, gave the *Protector* Hopes of annexing *Hispaniola*, to the Dominions of *Great Britain*.

But this weakness of the *Spaniards*, which invited *Cromwel* into the *War*, and seemed to assure Him of Success, was a very strong reason why He ought not to have broke with Them; because He could not continue to depress the *Crown* of *Spain*, without destroying the *Equality* of *Power*, that ought to subsist between the several great States of *Europe*, and elevating *France* to such an exorbitant Degree, as would enable Her to lord it at Pleasure, over all Her Neighbours.

The *Protector* knew this extremely well, and there are those who have affirmed, that before his Death, He had taken a Resolution to reconcile Himself to the Court of *Madrid*. (a) After having acquired *Dunkirk*

(a) Monsieur *Wicquefort*, affirms this to have been the *Protector's* Design; and that one of *Cromwel's* principal Ministers had told him so, in point of Friendship and Confidence. *Wicque Hist. M. S. des Provinces unies*, Lib. xi.

and *Jamaica*, during his Alliance with *France*, He had a mind to possess Himself of *Calais*, by the assistance of the *Spaniards*; but as He did not live to affect this, He left the *French* very great Gainers, by the Measures they had taken with Him.

OLIVER CROMWEL dying in *September* 1658, *Cardinal Mazarine*, thought fit to conclude a Peace with the *Spaniards* in the succeeding Year, by the famous *Pyrenean Treaty*, in consequence of which, *LEWIS XIV.* was soon after married to the *INFANTA*, Daughter of *PHILIP IV.* in whose Right, He afterwards challenged the *Sovereignty* of the *Spanish Netherlands*, tho' in direct Breach of the *Renunciations* made at his Marriage. By the *PYRENEAN TREATY*, *SPAIN* relinquished Her Pretensions to several important Places on the Frontier of *Flanders*, which the *FRENCH* had hitherto held only by Right of Conquest, and this was such an Accession of strength to the *Crown* of *France*, as enabled Her to give the Law to *Spain* upon all Occurrences; and from this time, the *United Provinces* durst never think of engaging singly in a *War* with *France*, upon any account whatsoever,

After the Conclusion of the *Pyrenean Treaty*, the *STATES GENERAL*, apprehensive

five of the great Power of the *French Monarchy*, were very earnest with CARDINAL MAZARINE, to renew the Alliances that had subsisted between *France* and the *United Provinces*, before the Peace of *Munster*; and to include Them in the *Pyrenean Treaty* as Allies of that *Crown*. This last, the *Cardinal* easily granted; but for the other, He insinuated to Them, that such a Demand would have been more seasonable before the Peace of the *Pyrenees*; however, He appointed Commissioners to treat with the extraordinary *Embassadors*, which the *Republic* had sent to *Paris* upon this Occasion, but died before the Negotiations were brought to any Conclusion.

Upon *Mazarine's* Death, LEWIS XIV, took the Government of his Kingdom into his own Hands, which brought on the Disgrace of *Monsieur Fouquet*, who was succeeded in the Direction of the Finances by *Monsieur Colbert*.

The *Dutch Ministers* at the Court of *France*, were glad of *Fouquet's* Misfortune, because having been the early Patron, if not the Projector of the *French Greenland-Company*, He thought Himself obliged in Honour to protect it, and this had made Him oppose the *Dutch* with a great deal of obstinacy. The *Embassadors* soon found,

however, that *Monsieur Colbert* was not like to be more favourable to Them than his Predecessor. This *Minister* was resolved to do all He could to make the *French Commerce* flourish; and to this Purpose, He was of Opinion, that the Importation of all *foreign Manufactures into France*, should be prohibited, in order to create a greater Consumption of those that were wrought in the Kingdom; vainly believing the *french Manufactures* so necessary to the *Dutch*, and the rest of *Europe*, that They would be obliged to purchase Them with ready Money.

Thus prepossessed, *Colbert* carried Things to so great a length, that the *Dutch Ministers* prepared to leave *France*, and return Home, without concluding any Thing. Their Resolution, however, brought Him to a better Temper, and the *Chancellor Seguier*, *Monsieur de Villeroy*, and *Monsieur de Tellier*, being of opinion, that it would be advantageous to *France*, to renew the Treaties that had formerly subsisted between that *Crown* and the *United Provinces*, the *Embassadors* at last contracted a very important Alliance with *Louis XIV.* when they least expected it. (a) By this Convention, all former

(a) *Traite d' Alliance et de Commerce: &c.* See *Traitez de Paix* tome. iv. p. 35.

Treaties between *France* and the *Republic* were confirmed, and the two Nations promised reciprocally to *guarantee* the Possessions of each other. With respect to *Commerce*, Care was taken to prevent *Pyracies*, by forbidding *Privateers* to search any Vessels that they met with at *Sea*, or use the least Violence to their Commanders. Each Nation had full Liberty to enter the *Sea-Ports* of the other, and to trade freely with all sorts of Commodities, except *Whale-fins* and *Oyl*, which the *Dutch* were excluded from bringing into *France*, during the Term of the Privilege granted to the *Greenland Company*; and as for the above-mentioned Duty of *fifty Sols per Tun*, It was now to be exacted but once, when *foreign Ships* left the *Ports* of *France*, and those that loaded with *Salt* were liable only to the Payment of one Half (b) But tho' these Terms were a considerable Abatement of *Monfieur Colbert's* Scheme, yet they were still very severe, compared with the Freedom of *Traffick* the *Dutch* had formerly enjoyed with *France*; nor would the *States General* have acquiesced in such Conditions, had they not obtained at the same Time a very con-

(b) Article separèe touchant l'Imposition de cinquante sols par Tonneau sur les Navires Etraugers sortant de *France*.

considerable Advantage in a Point of the utmost Importance to the *Republic*, which was the *Guarantee of France, to their Right of fishing for Herrings on the Coast of Great Britain*. The *French* were very loath to engage Themselves in this *Guarantee*. *Colbert* said, It was unreasonable to expect They should undertake to maintain the *Dutch* in the Enjoyment of a Point that was of a very litigious Nature, and liable to be contested with Them. That the KING of ENGLAND could not but take it extremely ill, and therefore it would be best to couch the Clause of the *Guarantee* in general Terms, to avoid giving Offence to a Prince, for whom both the Nations ought to have the utmost Consideration. But the *Dutch Ministers* knew a general *Guarantee* would be of no Service to their Country, in Case *England* should resolve to dispute the Point, and therefore they insisted strenuously and at last obtained, *that their Right to the Herring Fishery should be particularly expressed*. This Treaty could not be signed however, till the Month of *April 1662*, and the *French King* deferred the Ratification of it some time longer, with a View to engage the *States General*, to include *Dunkirk*, which he had lately purchased of our King *Charles II.* amongst these Places which they were to support Him in the Possession of.

CHARLES

CHARLES II. was restored to the *Crown of Great Britain*, in 1660, and might have kept so equal a Ballance between *France* and *Spain*, as would effectually have hindred the former from making further Conquests in the *Netherlands*; and nothing could be more natural, than to expect that Those, who had so just an Abhorrence for the Memory of *Cromwell*, would be the last to fall into his Measures. But unhappily for *Europe*, CHARLES II. had scarce recovered the Throne, when he threw Himself into the Arms of LEWIS XIV, and was more or less influenced by *French Councils* throughout the whole Course of his Reign. I shall be obliged to examine the Conduct of this Prince, more particularly in the Sequel. But to return to the Alliance of *France* and the *United Provinces*, the Treaty of 62 being ratified, the *French* published a new Tariff in 1664, which regulated the Duties of Importation in such a Manner, as gave the Merchants of both Nations, a great deal of Reason to hope their Commerce would augment, and be carried on for the Future without Interruption. But a few Years convinced Them of the Vanity of these Hopes. In 1667, the *French Court*, raised the Duties upon foreign Merchandize, in direct Breach of the Treaty

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ty of 1662; and in the same Year, LEWIS XIV, executed the Project he had so long entertained, of making Himself Master of the *Spanish Netherlands*. The Rapidity of the *French Conquests* in *Flanders*, struck a Terror throughout all *Europe*. The KING of FRANCE was accused of aspiring to the *Universal Monarchy*, of breaking the most sacred engagements, and of robbing his Brother-in-Law CHARLES II. of Dominions, to which He had an undoubted Title. In the mean Time, the neighbouring Nations, entered into Measures for checking the Exorbitant Power of *France*, and in 1668 the *Triple League* was concluded between *England*, *Sweden* and the *United Provinces*, which put a Stop to the Arms of *France*, and brought on the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, which saved the remainder of *Flanders*; but it was too soon apparent, that the King of *France* entered into this Treaty with no other Intention than that of renewing the War, to more Advantage. The *French* were of Opinion, that if they could but ruin the *United Provinces*, the *Spanish Netherlands* would fall under their Domination, without any Resistance. With this View, LEWIS XIV, losing the Remembrance of all past Alliances, and having first induced the King of *England* to join with Him in the Attack, and

en-

engaged the *Emperor* in a Neutrality, Invaded the *Republic* of the *United Provinces*, in 1672, and had almost brought It to Destruction, when the *Prince* of Orange being called to the Defence of his Country, acquired the Glory of putting a Stop to the *French Arms*, and of rescuing the Liberties of *Europe*. In 1674 the PARLIAMENT of ENGLAND, jealous of the *French Conquests*, were so importunate with *Charles II.* to break the Measures he had taken in Conjunction with *Lewis XIV.*, that they at last obliged him to make a separate Peace with the *Dutch*, and the *King* of *Spain*, with great Part of the *Empire*, having at the same Time declared in their Favour, This, in some Measure retrieved the Affairs of the *United Provinces*, and brought on the Peace of *Nimeghen*, in 1678. Whoever peruses this Treaty, will find the *French* were very great Gainers by It; the *Spaniards* entirely lost the *Franche Compté*, and had but a weak Barrier left them in *Flanders*: yet this was so far from satisfying *LEWIS XIV.*, that immediately after the Peace, he set up fresh Claims to several of the most considerable Places in *Flanders*, under the Pretence of *Re-unions*, *Dependancies*, and such Kind of Titles, as are only to be made good by those who have the longest Sword. In short, after refusing to settle the

Limits

Limits between his own Dominions and those of *Spain*, agreeable to the Treaty of *Nimeghen*, He seized upon the *Dutchy of Luxemburgh*, and obliged the KING of *SPAIN*, to renounce his Title of *Duke of Burgundy*. He observed the same Conduct towards the EMPIRE, by refusing to evacuate several Places agreeable to the Treaties of *Westfalia* and *Nimeghen*; raising Contributions at Pleasure, and obliging the ten Towns of *Alsace*, with the Nobles and *Vassals* of that Country, to swear Allegiance to Him; erecting new Courts of Justice, and forbidding Appeals to the *Imperial Chamber of Spire*. He confiscated the Revenues of the Chapter of *Strasburg*; raised new Fortifications in several Places, dismantled others, and set up Pretensions to the Sovereignty of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, with other Imperial Districts, all which having been complained of in the Diet of the *Empire*, and represented to the *French King*, he was so far from granting Redress, that he invaded the *Palatinate*, surprised *Strasburg* by Treachery, and in order to Grasp the *universal Monarchy*, did all He could either by Fraud or Force, to get the DAUPHIN declared *King of the Romans*.

About the same time, in order to make himself Master of *Italy*, LEWIS XIV, bought *Casal* of the Duke of MANTUA, and endeavoured

voured to trick the *Duke* of SAVOY out of his Dominions, who was then but fourteen Years Old, under Pretence of sending Him to LISBON, where he was to marry the INFANTA, and in her Right to enjoy the Crown of Portugal.

But these Provocations having given Birth to the League of AUGHSBOURGH, in 1683, between the *Emperor*, the *King* of Sweden, the *States General* of the *United Provinces* and several Circles of the *Empire*, the Direction of whose Forces would be committed to the Care of the *Prince* of Orange, who was indeed the Soul of the *League*; LEWIS XIV, apprehensive of so strong an Opposition, offered the Confederates a twenty Years Truce; which being accepted by them and the *King* of Spain, the *French* remained in Possession of all They had taken from the *Spaniards*, except Courtray and Dixmude, which they restored to Spain after having slighted their Fortifications.

The Revolution of *England* in 1688, was the Cause of renewing the War, and the Success of it entirely broke the *French King's* Measures. The Events of the War from *Eighty eight* to the Peace of *Reswick*, and of that which succeeded, between *France* and the several Parties of the *second grand Alliance*, are too recent, and too well known to be inserted here. I shall

shall only observe, that the *War* which the *French King* first declared against the *King of Spain* in 1667, was in effect never put an End to till the Peace of *Utrecht*, in 1713. LEWIS XIV, the principal Personage, was still upon the Scene, and prosecuted his old Quarrel with the same Vehemence, and from the same Motives that induced Him to begin it; which were no less than the Reduction of all the *Netherlands*, and the universal Monarchy of *Europe*, which he believed would be a certain Consequence of the other.

I come now to close this Section with remarking, that a *War* between *France* and *Holland*, would be of very great Prejudice to both the Nations, and cannot possibly produce the least Advantage to either, unless we suppose the *French* strong enough to make the entire Conquest of the *United Provinces*; which it is the Business of all *Europe* to prevent. The *French* would do the *Republic* a great deal of Damage, by seizing such Effects as the *Dutch Merchants* might have in *France*, and by obstructing their Trade with *Men of War* and *Privateers*, especially in the *Mediterranean* and the *Levant*, where the *Dutch* could not maintain such a Squadron as would be able to protect their *Commerce*, except at such an Expence, as the *Finances* of the *Republic*, are by no means equal to at present.

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On the other hand, the *French* would be very great Losers, by being deprived of the *Dutch Trade*. I believe I may affirm, that the Merchants of the four *maritime Provinces*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Friezland* and *Groninghen*, take off more than *one Half* of all the *Wine*, and almost all the *Salt* that *France* produces; besides vast Quantities of other Particulars. (a) But should *War* break out between the two Nations, this *Commerce* must consequently cease. The *Dutch* would supply Themselves with *Wine*, from the Banks of the *Rhine*, and the *Moselle*, as well as from *Portugal* and *Spain*, from whence they might likewise bring what *Salt* they had occasion for; unless we should make it their Interest to take it from *England*, by allowing the *Proprietor* so large a *Drawback* upon exported *Salt*, as may enable Him to sell it as cheap as the *Portuguese* or *Spaniards*; and with Regard to the *Fruits* which the *Dutch* now bring from *France*, *Spain* and *Portugal* afford the very same.

A Rupture with *Holland* would be so very destructive to the Commerce and Revenues of *France*, that there is great Reason to believe that *Crown* will never declare *War* against the

(a) See Part 2d. Page 354.

Republic, unless she thinks herself in a Condition to conquer the *seven Provinces* entirely, which is the only thing that can make her amends for the Loss she would sustain from the *Suspension* of her *Commerce*. But to prevent her ever being in that Condition, the STATES GENERAL are obliged by all Rules of *Policy*, to abstain from every thing that may render either the *Emperor*, *England* or *Spain* less redoubtable to *France* than they are at present ; so long as those Powers shall continue in Friendship with the *Republic*.

There is nothing that ought to engage the *States General* in an *offensive Alliance* with *France*, except a *War* with *England* or the *Emperor*. In the first Case, every *Alliance* is to be embraced, and all Means employed to obtain a Peace ; and should his *Imperial Majesty* attack the *Republic*, an *Alliance* with *France* is then desirable, insomuch as it is more eligible to be Servants to the *House of Bourbon*, rather than Slaves of the *House of Austria*.





S E C T. III.
OF THE
ALLIANCES
OF THE
STATES GENERAL
WITH
SPAIN.



Y the Treaty of the *Truce* concluded at the *Hague*, in 1609, PHILIP III. acknowledged the STATES GENERAL for Sovereigns of a Free People, after the *Crown of Spain* had treated Them as *Rebels* for thirty
II Years

Years together. The Liberty of the *Republic* was confirmed, in a more authentick Manner by the Peace of *Munster*, in 1648; and, such is the Vicissitude of human Affairs, in less than thirty Years after this Treaty, the *States General* were become necessary Allies to *Spain*, and WILLIAM III. Prince of Orange, Great Grandson of WILLIAM I. whom PHILIP II. had proscribed as a Traitor, was now the best Support of the *Spanish Monarchy*, and almost the only Prince whom PHILIP IV, could rely upon, for Defence against the exorbitant Power of FRANCE.

The Dominions of SPAIN, having devolved to the *German Branch* of the *House of Austria*, upon the Death of CHARLES II, and the *Spanish Netherlands*, which rendred their *Catholick Majesties* of very great Consequence to the *United Provinces*, having been separated from that *Monarchy*, and given up to the present EMPEROR; the Interest of the *States General* with regard to the *Crown of Spain*, is no longer what it was, before the *Male Line* of CHARLES V, became Extinct, and whilst the Dominions of PHILIP II, remained united upon one and the same Head. I think it unnecessary therefore, to give any Account of the Alliances that have been formed between
the

the *States General* and the *Kings of Spain*, from the Peace of *Munster* to the Death of *Charles II.* most of which were made, with no other View, than to preserve the *Spanish Netherlands* from falling into the Hands of *France*; but I will venture to say, that *Spain* is not become weaker by the Separation of the *Austrian Netherlands*, the Defence of which, had for a long Series of Years, quite drained that Kingdom of Soldiers, and Money.

It is the constant Interest of Trading Nations never to undertake *Offensive Wars*, for the sake of *Glory* and *Conquest*. They must remain upon the *Defensive*, and not come to an open Rupture with their Neighbours, but upon the utmost Necessity. This is a settled Maxim with all Countries, that depend on *Traffick*; and the Nature of the Trade between *Holland* and *Spain* obliges the *States General* to a strict Observation of It towards that Monarchy. But as there is no Rule that is not liable to an Exception, there are certainly some Cases in which It would be the Interest of the *United Provinces*, to declare War against *Spain*, notwithstanding all the Inconveniences which the *Republic* must suffer, from a Suspension of her *Commerce*.

Every Body knows that the Force and Grandeur of *Spain* depends on the annual Returns that she receives from her Colonies in the *West-Indies*, and were the Treasures that are brought from those Countries to remain entirely with the *Spaniards*, They would be more than sufficient to render them what They once were, the most redoubtable Enemies, and most *Tyranical Allies* in the *Universe*. But the Incapacity of *Spain*, to furnish a Cargo for the Supply of the *West-Indies*, forces Her to share the Profits of that *Commerce* with the other Trading Nations of *Europe*; and thus the Return of the *Galleons*, and the *Flotilla*, is as necessary to the Merchants of *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, as to those of *Cadiz* and *Madrid*.

This *Poverty*, which incapacitates the *Spaniards* to supply the *West-Indies*, arises from Mismanagement in their *European Commerce*. The vast Equipments made by *PHILIP II.* and the ill Success of his Enterprizes, had so totally destroy'd the naval Power of *Spain*, that after the Peace of *Munster*, the *Spaniards* found Themselves obliged to hire *Dutch Vessels*, to carry on their Trade to *America*. The Wars They were afterward engaged in with *France*, the Sums expended in the Preservation of the
Nether-

Netherlands, as well as the *Italian States* dependant on the *Crown of Spain*, the vast Numbers of Men consumed in the Defence of those Countries, from the Peace of *Munster* to the Death of *Charles II*, and the several Calamities which harrassed *Spain* from the *Decease* of this *Prince* to the Peace of *Utrecht*, have been so many invincible Impediments to the Revival of their *Navigation*. Since the Treaty of *Utrecht* They have been zealous to restore their maritime Force, but have been mistaken in the Means. If the Money laid out by the COURT of MADRID in the *Sicilian Expedition*, and the Equipment of that *Fleet*, which was so intirely defeated by our *Admiral*, my Lord TORRINGTON, in 1718, had been employed for the immediate Encouragement of Navigation, either in the Nature of *Loans* to particular Merchants, or any other effectual Method for the fitting out *Merchants Ships*, in the several Ports of *Spain*, I believe, that by this Time the *Spaniards* would have been able to carry on their *European Commerce* entirely with their own Ships, and this would in a little Time, enable Them to fit out a *Navy* and to supply their *West-Indies* without the Assistance of any foreign Nation. But the *Spanish Court* was resolved to have a *Fleet* at any Price; before they had laid

the necessary Foundation for its Support ; that is, before They had extended Their own Navigation, so as to have a constant *Nursery* for *Seamen*, and before They had a sufficient Quantity of *Stores* in their Country, to repair any sudden Loss, without which It is vain to think of keeping up a *Navy*, except, at such an Expence, as even all the Treasures of the *Indies*, would not be equal to.

It is beyond all Question, the Prime Interest of SPAIN to extend her *Navigation*; but It is likewise the Interest, of almost all *Europe*, and in particular of the *United Provinces*, to suppress It. And tho' it cannot be denied, that the *Spaniards* have a *natural Right* to trade in every Country of *Europe*, and in all other Parts of the World, from whence They have not excluded Themselves by *Compact*, yet I believe, the *Dutch* would not sit still, and see Them carry on the single Trade of the *BALTICK*, in their own Bottoms; because such a Revolution, in that Branch of *Commerce* only, is sufficient to draw on the Ruin of the *Republic*. Nor will this appear strange, if we consider, how many Ships, and how vast a number of Hands the *Dutch* employ in exchanging the Commodities of *Spain*, with those of *Russia*, *Livonia*, *Sweden* and *Norway*, which would then be destitute of Employment: And It is still a
Consi-

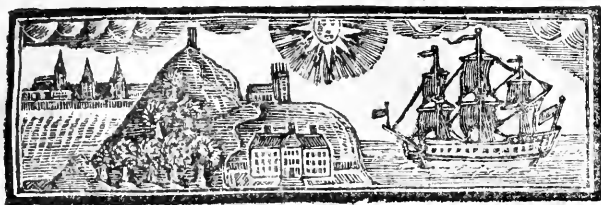
Consideration of greater Weight, That without the *Bullion* which *Holland* receives annually from *Spain*, It would be impossible for the *DUTCH* to carry on their Commerce with other Nations, where the *Balance of Trade* is against them; as in the Case of *Muscovy*, *Norway*, *England*, *France*, and the *Levant*. I do not think my self guilty of any Exaggeration therefore, when I say, that a *Revolution* in this single Branch of *Commerce*, would probably draw on the ruin of the *Republic*; and consequently the *STATES GENERAL* would hazard a *War*, rather than to submit to it.

Before the Separation of the *Austrian Netherlands*, from the *Spanish Monarchy*, it was the Interest of the *States General*, that *France* should be formidable to *Spain*, whose Dominions being contiguous to *Holland*, the *DUTCH* had reason to fear, that in a Tide of Prosperity, the *Spanish Court* might be tempted to renew their Pretentions to the *Sovereignty* of the *United Provinces*. But those Fears having vanished, upon the Settlement of the *Spanish Dominions* at the Peace of *Utrecht*, it is now become the Interest of *Holland*, that *Spain* should be formidable to *France*, on the *Continent*; and therefore the *States General* will be faithful Allies to His *CATHOLICK MAJESTY*, so

long as the latter is contented to let the *European Trade* flow in the same Channel, in which it has run for near a Hundred Years; and when the *Spaniards* shall endeavour to break the Course, perhaps it may be the Interest of other Nations, as well as the *Dutch*, to frustrate their attempts.



S E C T.



SECT. IV.

OF THE

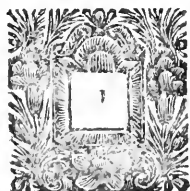
ALLIANCES

OF THE

STATES GENERAL

WITH

GREAT BRITAIN.



It would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the DUTCH to have supported their Revolt against SPAIN, and to have settled their Commonwealth, without the Aid of QUEEN ELIZABETH,

ZABETH. The *States of Holland and Zealand*, offered Her the Sovereignty of their Provinces, which She thought fit to refuse, for Fear of giving PHILIP II, a Pretence to declare War against Her, at a Time when the Power of *Spain* was a Terror to the Universe; but She assisted the *States*, with Men and Money, and at the same Time exacted *cautionary Towns* from Them, as a Security for her *Reimbursement*, whenever They should be in a Condition to Pay. *English Garrisons* were received into the *Brill, Flushing, and Fort Rammekins*, which were at once good Security for our Money, and Pledges for the good Conduct and Fidelity, I had almost said, for the Obedience of the *States*, to *England*.

But a very few Years had passed, after *Queen Elizabeth's* Death, when the *Dutch* began to entertain a Jealousy of the *English*, and sent *Embassadors* to KING JAMES I. with Instructions to procure the Restitution of the Three *cautionary Towns*; upon which, Tho' I will not affirm, that *King James I.* could have detained those Places in Point of Right and Equity, after the *States* had offered to reimburse the Money advanced by *Queen Elizabeth*; yet, I will venture to say, He ought to have done it in Point of Interest and Policy.

But

But this *Prince* having rashly engaged his Word to restore Them, when the Sums advanced by *Queen Elizabeth*, should be Paid; OLDEN BARNEVELT, who knew what Importance They were of, went about the Thing so heartily, that in a little Time the Money was raised, and remitted to *England*, upon which KING JAMES ordered the Places to be evacuated. It is pretended, however, That when the *King* made this Promise, he was of Opinion that the *Dutch* could not possibly raise the Money; and finding Himself deceived, He bore a secret Grudge to BARNEVELT ever after, for having outwitted Him. Be this as it will, 'tis certain, He could not have done a weaker Thing; and I dare affirm, that when He abandoned the ELECTOR PALATINE to the Cruelty of the *House of Austria*, He did not do more Mischief to the *Protestant Cause* in general, than the Interest of *England* received by his giving up the Places before-mentioned. Had those Fortresses remained in the Hands of *Great Britain*, the *Dutch* would not have used us so ill, as They afterwards did in the *East-Indies*, and several other Countries. They must have contented Themselves, with such Advantages in Commerce, as constant Application, joined to a rigid

Par-

Parfimony would have given Them over us, but they durst not have had Recourse to Fraud and Violence.

KING CHARLES I. knew the Interest of the Nation, with regard to *foreign Affairs*, much better than his Father, as appears from his Design to Succour *Rochelle*, tho' it was ill executed, and from a Passage in *D'Estrades* Memoirs, which, I think, deserves to be particularly taken Notice of. *Count D'Estrades*, the most dexterous, and most successful Negotiator of his Time, was sent to *England*, by CARDINAL RICHELIEU, in 1637, to engage *Charles I.* in a Neutrality, whilst the *French* and *Dutch* should attack the Maritime Towns of *Flanders*; and in his very first Letter to the *Cardinal* after his Arrival at *London*, He gives him an Account of his Negotiation in the following Manner, (a)

***** ' I was very well received
' by the *King* of *England*, whom I ad-
' dressed conformably to the Orders given
' me by your *Eminency*; and represented

(a) See *D'Estrades's* Memoires, Letter to Card. Richlieu dated Novemb. 24, 1637.

‘ all the Advantages that would naturally
 ‘ accrue to Him from a strict Alliance
 ‘ with the *King*. That not only his *Maje-*
 ‘ *sty*, but all his Subjects would be very
 ‘ considerable Gainers by His complying
 ‘ with our Demands, having the Sea open to
 ‘ Them, and being at Liberty to furnish
 ‘ all Things necessary for the *Kings* Forces,
 ‘ which could not fail to bring a great
 ‘ deal of Money into *England*. That under
 ‘ Favour of the Neutrality which the
 ‘ King ask’d of Him, all the Commerce
 ‘ would be carried on by *English Shipping*,
 ‘ as well for our Armies as those of *Spain*,
 ‘ and even for all the Towns of the *Low*
 ‘ *Countries*. That your *Eminency* had com-
 ‘ manded me to assure Him, you would
 ‘ contribute all that depended on you to
 ‘ maintain a good *Union* and *Friendship* be-
 ‘ twixt his *Majesty* and the *King* of *France*;
 ‘ and even engage the *King* to give Him
 ‘ any Assistance He might stand in need
 ‘ of, from the Attempts of such of his
 ‘ Subjects, as might have ill Intentions a-
 ‘ gainst his Person.

‘ He answered me, That He would do
 ‘ every Thing in his Power to shew the
 ‘ *King* how much He desired his *Friend-*
 ‘ *ship*, provided that what his *Majesty* re-
 ‘ quired of Him, was not prejudicial to his
 Honour,

' *Honour, his Interest, or his Kingdom;*
 ' which, he said, must certainly be the Case,
 ' if he permitted either the King or the States
 ' to attack the Maritime Places on the Coast
 ' of Flanders. That in Order to succour
 ' Them, He kept a Fleet in the Downs, fit
 ' for Action, with fifteen thousand Men, ready
 ' to Land in Flanders in case of Need.
 ' That He thanked your *Eminency* for your
 ' Offers and Civilities; that He wanted no
 ' Assistance to chastise such of his Subjects
 ' as should fail of their Duty, *Their Pun-*
 ' *ishment being ascertained by his own Autho-*
 ' *rity, and the Laws of England.*

An *Englishman* could not have wished a
 a nobler Answer; and accordingly, upon
 its being transmitted into *France*, RICH-
 LIEU ordered *Monseigneur D'Esirades* out of
England, by the very next Post, telling
 Him at the same Time, that before the
 Year came about, the KING of GREAT
 BRITAIN should repent his Stiffness.

The Troubles that ensued in *Great Bri-*
tain, during the rest of this unhappy Reign,
 did not give the Court Leave to attend to any
 Thing that passed in the *United Provinces*;
 wherefore, I shall stay no longer than to
 observe, that had not JAMES I. parted
 with the *Cautionary Towns*, 'Tis probable
 They would have afforded his Son a safe
 Retreat,

Retreat, in his Extremity; which might possibly have given a Turn to the Affairs of *England*, and have produced an Accommodation.

In 1649, the *Parliament* of *England*, apprehensive that CHARLES II. who then resided at the *Hague*, might have Credit enough, by Virtue of his Alliance with the *House of Orange*, to engage the *States General* in Measures for revenging the tragical Death of his Father, thought fit to send *Ministers* to the *Hague*, with Proposals of an Alliance between the two *Republicks*. But the *Prince of Orange* was then so powerful in *Holland*, that the *English Ministers* could not obtain so much as a public Audience of the *States General*. One of Them, *Doctor Dorislaus*, was Assassinated at the *Hague* by the *Royalists*, and the other was forced to return, without having done any Thing in his Negotiation.

Those who were then at the Head of Affairs in *England*, did not want either Resolution or Inclination to punish the Injury They had received in the Person of *Dorislaus*; but Things not being yet ripe for a Quarrel with the *States General*, the Affront was smothered; and in 1651 the *Parliament* sent a celebrated *Embassy*
to

to the *Hague*, with Offers of an Alliance *Defensive* and *Offensive* with the *Republic*. The Death of WILLIAM II, *Prince of Orange*, which happened in the preceding Year, encouraged the *English* to believe their *Ministers* would now meet with a better Reception, than the *Dutch* had given Them in 1649. And, indeed, They were admitted to a public Audience of the STATES GENERAL, and *Commissioners* were nominated to treat with Them, but the Friends of the *House of Orange*, were still so powerful in the *General Assembly*, that notwithstanding all the Endeavours of the *Province of Holland*, which dreaded a Rupture with *England* on Account of her Commerce, the Negotiations were unsuccessful, and the *Embassadors* returned to *England*, without concluding any Thing.

MONSIEUR DE WIT inveighs bitterly against the Friends of the *House of Orange*, for their Behaviour on this Occasion. (a) He affirms, the *English Ministers* offered to renew the *Treaty of Interourse* concluded in the Year 1495, between HENRY VII, and PHILIP Duke of *Burgundy*, Count of

(a) See *De Wit's Memoires*, Part 3, Page 308.

Holland, &c. by which the *Dutch* would have established their Commerce with *England*, upon a very advantageous Footing, and have procured an authentic Act for the Liberty of their Herring Fishery upon the Coast of Great Britain. (a) But with all the Respect that is due to the Authority of *Monsieur de Wit*, there is great Reason to believe, that not even the most zealous Friends of the *House of Orange*, would have been so much byassed by their Respect or Affection for the *Royal Family of England*, as to have refused a Treaty; so very advantageous to their Country. And indeed, it appears by the Account *Monsieur Basnage* has given Us of this Negotiation; that the *English Ministers* did not offer to renew the above-mentioned Treaty.

My Lord *St. John*, at his public Audience, told the *States General*, ‘ That the
 ‘ Alteration of Government which had hap-
 ‘ ned to their State in the foregoing Cen-

(a) *Piscatores cujuscunque Conditionis erunt, poterunt ubique ire, Navigare per Mare, secure piscari absque aliquo Impedimento, Licentia, seu salvo Conductu. See the Treaty of Peace between Henry VII. and Philip Duke of Burgundy, &c. Traitez de Paix, Tome. I. p. 784.*

' tury, had engaged the *English* to assist
 ' Them; and that *England* having now
 ' undergone a Revolution almost Parrallel
 ' to their Own, it was to be hoped, that
 ' the *States*, instead of declaring Them-
 ' selves Enemies to the *new Commonwealth*,
 ' would unite with Her in the strictest
 ' Manner.' And He added, ' That the
 ' two *Republics*, situated, as it were, with-
 ' in sight of one Another, might hold the
 ' Ballance of *Europe*, by joyning their
 ' Forces, whereas, a Misunderstanding
 ' would be fatal, both to their *Commerce*
 ' and *Liberty*, whose Foundations were, as
 ' yet, but ill established.' This was the
 Substance of what the *Embassadors* said in
 their Harrangue, and *Monsieur Basnage*
 tells us plainly, that the Commissioners
 nominated by the *States General*, to treat
 with the *English*, were astonish'd to find
 that the *Embassadors* confined Themselves
 to general Propositions, and that They did
 little more, than put into Writing what
 They had spoken before, at their *public*
Audience. (a) *Basnage* says, The *Dutch* dis-

(a) See *Basnage*, *Annales des Provinces Unies*, Fol.
216.

covered at their first Conference with the *English Ministers*, that CROMWELL had projected the *Union* of the two *Republicks*, as he afterwards explained It, under the Title of *Coalition*; which I have already taken Notice of, and shall examine again in the Sequel. (a) But the *Dutch Commissaries* who had no Thoughts of so strict an engagement, answered in their Turn, with loose and general Promises, of good Intelligence and Friendship; at which the *English Ministers* were so scandalised, upon a Presumption, that the Advances They had made on the Part of *England*, would have been received with more Gratitude, that They resolved to return Home, making the Insults they had received from the ROYALISTS who resided at the *Hague*, a Pretext for demanding their *Audiance*, of *Leave*. And now it was, that the *Dutch* desired in Vain, to make the old Treaty between HENRY VII, and the DUKE of BURGUNDY, the Foundation of a new one. (b) The *Embassadors* declared their
Com-

(a) See Part 1. Page 234.

(b) On eut beau leur proposer le Traite d'Entrecours, fait par Philippe, Duc de Bourgogne, Comte de Hollande, &c. avec Henri VII, Roi d'Angleterre pour servir

Commission expired, and that they had Orders to be gone; but some Days after, They demanded another Conference, under the Pretence of having received fresh Instructions from the *Parliament*; at which, They affected to accept of the above-mentioned Treaty, for the *Basis* of their Negotiation, but their Proposals were clogged with so many Difficulties, that it was impossible to bring the Conferences to a good Issue; and accordingly They returned to *London*, without having concluded one single Point.

I have been the more particular in this Account, as It contains two very important Articles. The *first*, is an unquestionable Proof, that *John De Wit*, the greatest *Statesman* a-

de Fondement & de Base a un nouveau Project. Ils declarerent que leur Commission etoit expiree & qu' Ils avoient Ordre de partir. Ils ne laisserent pas de demander quelque Tems apres une Conference sur la nouvelle Permission, qu' Ils disoient avoir obtenu du Parlement; Ils seignerent d'accepter le Traite d'entrecours & de batir sur le meme principe qu' Ils avoient rejette. Mais Ils firent couler dans leurs Projects, 1. La Necessite de refuser le Secours & la Retraite aux Rebelles & aux Ennemis de la Republique, c'est a dire au Roi d' Angleterre & a toute la maison royale, 2. D'assister le Parlement contre tous ses Ennemis. 3. Enfin, de defendre a la Princesse Royale D' Orange, de rendre a sa Famille les Devoirs, & les Secours, que la Nature & l'Amitie exigeoient d' Elle. *Basnage Annales des Provinces unies*, Fol. 216.

mongst the *Dutch*, thought the *Revival* of the Treaty between *Henry VII*, and the *Duke of Burgundy*, necessary for assuring the Right of his *Conntrymen* to the *Herring Fishery*. And the *second*, is a fair Avowal, of the *Historian* of the *States General*, that this Treaty was not renewed, and that the Proposition of building a new *Alliance* upon It, did not come from the *English*, as *De Wit* would Insinuate.

Upon the Return of the *Embassadors* to *London*, the *PARLIAMENT*, irritated against the *Dutch*, passed an ACT for the *Augmentation of Navigation and Commerce*, by which all foreign Vessels were forbid to bring any Commodities into *England*, except such as were of the proper Growth of the Country to which they belonged; which was in Effect to prohibit the *Dutch Commerce*, a great Part of which then consisted, as it doth still, in a Transport of foreign Commodities. Such a *Act* could not but be ill received in *Holland*, and accordingly, several Members amongst the *States General*, were of Opinion, that They ought immediately to declare *War* against the *Parliament*; but the Loss of the Battle at *Worcester*, having entirely defeated the Hopes of the Royalists in *England*, and establish'd the Authority of the *Parliament*, the Ma-

majority of the *States General* thought It more Prudent to attempt a Reconciliation by gentle Methods.

Agreeable to This, *Embassadors* were sent to *London*, who arrived there on *Christmas Day 1651*, and were received with a great deal of Civility. The *PARLIAMENT* gave Them Audience as often as They demanded It, and heard all their Complaints; but instead of Satisfaction, the *English* complained in their Turn of the Assassination of *Doristlaus*, and of the Losses the Nation had sustained from the *Dutch Practices*, in Points of *Trade*, both in *Muscovy*, *Greenland*, and the *East-Indies*; particularly at *Amboina* and *Banda*. They demanded that all *Ships of War* belonging to the *States General* should strike their Colours to the *English* upon all Occurrences, and that not as a mere Civility, done to a superior Nation, but as a *Respect* and *Hommage* due to the Masters of the *Ocean*; and upon this Principle, the *English* claimed the sole Right of fitting out *Fleets*, of clearing the *Sea* of *Pirates*, and of searching all Vessels, whether *Men of War* or *Merchantmen*, in order to prevent a *contraband Trade*, reserving to Themselves, the faculty of declaring what Species of Goods should be esteemed *contraband*, amongst which, They comprehended

hended *Corn*, the Transport of which, They had a Mind to prevent. They demanded, by way of *Tribute*, the *tenth Herring* of all those that the *Dutch* should take on the Coasts of *Great Britain*: They required likewise the entire Payment of the Money *QUEEN ELIZABETH* had lent the *States General*, affirming that *KING JAMES I.* had been imposed upon in that Particular: And lastly, They demanded that Reparation should be made for the Damages the *English* had sustained from the *Dutch* in the *East-Indies*, since the Year 1622, which were estimated at above *two Millions Sterling* the Interest of which amounted to more than the Principal.

It is not consistent with the Conciseness of this Tract, to set down all that the *Dutch Historians* affirm their *Embassadors* to have said in Opposition to these several Pretensions. But upon the whole, The *Dutch* observed, that *Peace* and *Commerce* could not possibly subsist between the two Nations, if the *English* continued their *Piracies*; (a)

(a) 'Twas thus They filed the Enterprizes of two Privateers, to whom the Parliament had granted Letters of Reprisal, for Damages formerly sustained by the *Dutch*.

and They affirmed the *Hollanders* had already lost *thirty Ships* for which no Satisfaction could be obtained, upon their repeated Complaints. The *EMBASSADORS* likewise, demanded the Repeal of the *Act* for the *Augmentation of Navigation and Commerce*, by way of *Preliminary*. But the *English* would recede from none of their Pretentions. In short, *CROMWEL* was become Master of Affairs, and had resolved a *War* with the *Dutch*. The *STATES GENERAL* endeavoured all They could in Honour, to prevent It, and with that View, *Monfieur Nieuport*, Receiver General of *North Holland*, was difpatched into *England*, where he had a great many Friends; But the *STATES* at the fame Time directed their *Embassadors* to oppose the Pretentions of *England* to the *Dominion* of the *SEA*. They alfo fent Orders to their *Admiral*, the celebrated *TROMP*, not to fuffer the *English* to fearch their *Merchantmen* upon any Pretext whatever, and that He might be able to execute their Commands, It was refolved in *Holland*, to fit out a Fleet of *one hundred and fifty Sail of Ships*; Notice of which, was given by the *Dutch Minifters* to the feveral neighbouring *Courts*, and particularly to the *PARLIAMENT* of *ENGLAND*, who were told, that their *High Mightineffes*

nesses Fleet was equipped with no other Design, than to keep the *Sea* clear of *Py-rates*, to protect the *Navigation* and *Com-merce* of their Subjects, and to prevent a *Rupture* between the two Nations, by searching and taking their *Merchantmen*. This tacit Reproach animated the *Parliament*, who affirmed that the *Empire* of the *Sea* belonged to *England*, and that They would not fail to maintain It. In short, *Hostilities* were soon after commenced upon the Subject of the *Flag*. *Commadore Young*, having met with a *Dutch Fleet* of *Merchant Ships*, under the Convoy of a Squadron of their *Men of War*, commanded by a *Vice Admiral*, the *English Officer* required the *Dutch* to lower their *Colours*, which being refused, a sharp Engagement ensued, and the *Dutch Admiral* was obliged at last to strike his *Flag*. This Action was soon followed by another of more Importance, between the famous *BLAKE* and *Admiral TROMP*, the Relation of which, may be seen in *Lord Clarendon*, and the other Writers of that Age. (a) My Design does not permit me to relate the Particulars of the *War*, which

(a) This Engagement was fought between *Dover* and *Calais*, in *May*, 1652.

was prosecuted with such Vigour, that in the Compass of eighteen Months, there was no less than *six set Engagements, between the grand Fleets of England and Holland*, besides other Fights and Skirmishes, of small Squadrons, and single Ships.

It is remarkable, That during the Course of this short but ruinous War, the *States General*, or at least, the *States of Holland*, hardly ever discontinued their *Negotiations*, in Order to obtain a *Peace*; and indeed, It is no Wonder They were weary of a Quarrel which exhausted their *Treasury*, and destroyed their *Commerce*.

In the Beginning of the Year 1653; MONSIEUR DE WIT was chosen *Grand Pensionary of Holland*, and distinguished his Enterance upon that Ministry by a Strain of a very extraordinary Nature. The STATES of HOLLAND being assembled, the *Pensionary* exacted an *Oath of Secrecy* from all the Members of that Assembly, and then proposed, that *Holland* should enter into a separate Negotiation with the *Parliament of England*, without the Knowledge or Participation of the other *Provinces*; and having carried his Proposition, the *Provincial States of Holland*, wrote privately to the *Parliament*, and represented in a pathetick Manner the Inconveniencies that each Nation suffered

suffered by a Continuance of the War. DE WIT, was encouraged to take this Step, from an Information He had received of a Misunderstanding between *Oliver Cromwel* and the *Parliament*, who being jealous of their *General*, would be apt to improve this Overture of Peace, in Order to retrench his Power. But *Cromwel*, who had penetrated *De Wit's* Intention, and was very well acquainted with the Temper of Those He had to do with at Home, was no sooner Master of the *Letter*, the *Secret* of which had been so religiously kept in *Holland*, than he ordered It to be printed and published, with a very insulting Title, (a) representing the *Dutch* as a People *already conquered*; in which he had two Designs, *first*, to sow *Dissention* between *Holland* and the other *Provinces*; and *secondly*, to engage the *English Nation* to desire the continuance of the *War*, which was absolutely necessary for Him, at a Time when He had resolved the Reduction of the *Parliament*, and consequently stood in more need of his Army than ever.

The PARLIAMENT, on the other Hand, surprized at *Cromwel's* Conduct, was in good

(a) The Title was, *The thrice humble Supplication of the States of Holland, who petition the Parliament for Peace.*

Earnest for *Peace*, and not only answered the *Letter* sent Them by the *Province* of *Holland*, but wrote another to the STATES GENERAL, who were surprized to discover from their *Enemy's* Letter, that the *Province* of *HOLLAND*, had entered into a *Negotiation* without their *Concurrence*. GRONINGHEN complained loudly against the *States* of *Holland*, for infringing the *UNION*, and the other *Provinces* murmured in Proportion to their Inclinations for the *House* of *ORANGE*, and the *KING* of *ENGLAND*. In the *Parliament's* Letter to the *States General*, They attributed the *War* to the precipitate Retreat of *Monsieur PAUW*, *Embassador Extraordinary* from their *High Mightinesses* to the *Parliament*; but They continued to propose the same Conditions of *Peace*, that *Pauw* had rejected. The *States* of *Holland* were firm in their Intentions to treat, and proposed that all *Hostilities* should immediately cease, and be suspended, 'till the *Peace* could be made. But all that the *States General* could be brought to resolve, after very long Debates, was to answer the *Parliament's* Letter, expressing their Desire to treat in a *Neutral Place*, and their Resolutions to send *Plenipotentiaries* thither when It should be agreed on.

What

What Effect this Letter would have had in *England*, is uncertain; for whilst the *States General* were debating at the *Hague*, CROMWEL had turned the *Parliament* out of Doors, and was absolute Master of the Administration. The *Dutch* were in Hopes, however, of reaping some notable Advantage from the intestine Divisions of the *English*, but were disappointed in their Expectations; for whilst *Cromwel* made Himself absolute at Home, He took proper Measures to have a *Fleet*, able to support the Glory of his Arms, and render the Nation formidable to Her Enemies. In the mean Time, to amuse the *States General*, CROMWEL answered the Letter They had wrote to the *Parliament*, professing his Inclinations for the Peace, and his Readiness to Treat in a *Neutral Place*; but He would not deviate from the Plan that had been exhibited to *Monsieur Pauw*, in the foregoing Year. The *States General* on the Contrary, desired to reassume the Project that had been concerted at the *Hague* in 1651, but after some warm Debates in their Assembly, the particular Interest of the *Province of Holland* prevailed, and it was resolved to send *Embassadors* to *London*, with full Powers to treat and conclude the Peace.

During

During these Transactions *MONK*, had fought the *Dutch Fleet*, and defeated Them in two subsequent Engagements, which so alarmed the *States of Holland*, that They hurried *Monsieur Van Beverning* into *England*, without his Colleagues, whose Equipages were not ready. *Van Beverning* found *CROMWEL* at the Head of a *Council of State*, composed of the principal Officers of the *Army*, to whom he proposed a Treaty, upon the Plan that had been projected at the *Hague*, in 1651; but *Cromwel* answered him fiercely, that He would not enter into any Negotiation, except under two Conditions: The *first*, That Satisfaction should be made for the Insults offered by *Tromp* to the *English Flag*: And *secondly*, That there should be no Suspension of Arms 'till the Treaty was concluded. But after the Arrival of the other *Embassadors*, *CROMWEL*, as I have already observed, (a) explained Himself more fully, declaring his Jealousy of the *Dutch Commerce*, and his Opinion that there could never be, a sure and lasting Peace between the two Nations, 'till there

(a) See Part 1. Page 234.

should be a COALITION of Interests; by uniting Them under one and the same Government.

It is no Wonder, the *Dutch Embassadors* were astonished at so extraordinary a Proposition; which is indeed, from its Impracticableness, a convincing Proof, that how well soever *Cromwel* might understand the Affairs of *England*, yet that He was entirely ignorant of the *interior methods* of Government in the *United Provinces*, as well as of the particular *Disposition* and *Intentions* of the several *Regents* in the *Province of Holland*.

Had CROMWEL consider'd, that all those who compose the Body of the STATES GENERAL, as well as the several Assemblies of the PROVINCIAL STATES; that every BURGO-MASTER, and I had almost said every Member of the several Town-Councils, were really so many Sovereigns; and that They had already conceived the Intention of perpetuating their several Dignities in their own Families; had He known that the Regents of the single Town of *Amsterdam* had many Thousands of Posts in their Disposal, and that the Revenue of that one City, was not less in His Time than 1600000 Pounds Sterling per Annum, all of It submitted to the Management of the same REGENTS, He would have

have immediately concluded It unreasonable, to expect so great a *Disinterestedness* in the Persons concerned, as would be necessary to induce Them to abandon such extraordinary *Priviledges*, and so great a Degree of Power, *where no Equivalent could be offered Them.*

But besides the *Personal* Interest of the *Regents*, That of the *State* in General, was indeed equally repugnant to the projected *Coalition*; and accordingly the *Dutch Embassadors* represented it as a Thing, utterly impracticable, But the Persons they had to do with, were not to be easily persuaded. After having dethroned their *King*, and surmounted innumerable Obstacles, It is no wonder if they thought themselves able to give Law to the *Dutch*, especially after having defeated Them in several Bloody Engagements. Agreeable to this, CROMWEL was so firm in his Demand of the *Union*, that the *Ambassadors* thought fit to detach two of their Body to consult their Principals in *Holland*, and receive fresh Instructions for their Conduct in a Point of so delicate a Nature.

I have already taken Notice that during the absence of these *Ambassadors*, a bloody Engagement was fought between the *English* and *Dutch Fleets*, in which *Admiral Tromp*
was

was kill'd, and *Monk* acquired immortal Honour. (a) This was the last Act of Hostility between the two Nations, during the Time of CROMWEL; for though the *Embassadors* returned with express Orders to reject the *Union* of the two *Republicks*, yet there was an Expedient soon found, that paved the Way to a Treaty. This was the *Exclusion* of the *Prince of Orange* from the *Stadtholdership* of the *Province of Holland*, the History of which the Reader will remember to have read in the first Part of this Book, to which I refer Him, and will stay no longer, than to observe that CROMWEL'S Acceptation of the *Exclusion* of the young *Prince of Orange*, in Lieu of the *Coalition*, is an undeniable Proof, that he demanded the Latter, from a Motive of self Interest; because, I dare affirm, it could not be the Interest of the Nation to abolish the Office of *Stadtholder*. On the other Hand, the Manner in which the Business of the *Exclusion* was conducted in *Holland*, the profound Mystery that was made of It, and the future Conduct of *Monsieur De Wit* towards the *House of Orange*, when Crom-

(a) See Part 1, Page 239.

wel was no more, hath made It very probable that *De Wit* Himself, encouraged the *Protector* to insist upon that Demand, and it may be, that He suggested it to Him.

Be this as it will, the *Province of Holland* having engaged by a separate Article, never to have a *Stadtholder*, the *Peace* was concluded at *Westminster*, on the 5th of *April 1654* (a) the principal Conditions of which were as follow, That neither of the two *Republicks* should give Reception, Succour, Protection, or Assistance, to the *Enemies*, or rebellious *Subjects* of the other; that the Freedom of *Navigation* and *Commerce* should be restored between the two Nations, who obliged Themselves, reciprocally, to defend each other's Ships in case they were attack'd by any other Power; but the Superiority of the *Flag* was entirely yielded to *England*, and the *Dutch Men of War* were to strike their Colours to the *English*, upon all Occasions. The *Republic* of the *United Provinces*, obliged Her self to prosecute and punish the Authors of the *Massacre of Amboina*, if They were yet alive; and to send Commissioners to *London*, to adjust the Disputes of the several *India Companies* of both Nations, and to settle the Amount of the Losses sustained by

(a) See the Treaty at large, *Traitez de Paix*, Tom, 3. p. 647
the

the *English* in the *East-Indies*, *Brazil*, *Muscovy*, and *Greenland*, &c. that Restitution might be made by the *States General*; and if the *Commissioners* appointed by the two Nations should not be able to adjust the Points in dispute, then the Decision of Them was to be left to the *Swiss Cantons*, who were pitched upon for *Arbitrators*. The KING of DENMARK, after a great deal of Difficulty on the Part of *Cromwel*, was included in the Treaty as an *Ally* of *Holland*, the *States General* engaging to make good the Losses that the *English Merchants* had sustained by the Seizure that Prince had made of their Ships in the Port of *Copenhagen*. Lastly, In order to render the Alliance firm and lasting, the *States General* promised not to confer the supreme Command of their Forces, either by *Sea* or *Land*, upon any Person that would not oblige Himself by *Oath* to an exact Observation of the Treaty.

Thus the Peace was made between the two Nations, which occasioned an extream Joy in the *United Provinces*; insomuch, that several Medals were struck to perpetuate the Memory of an Event so extremely Important to the *Republic*. That of *Amsterdam*, represented *Peace* and *Justice* united together and on Foot, with the se-

veral Symbols proper to each *Goddeſs*; and in the Margin were theſe Words,

Hæc mihi erunt Artes.

On the Reverse was the following Inſcription,

*Quod ſælix fauſtumque ſit,
Poſt atrox Bellum,
Quod inter
Anglicæ Belgicæque Reipublicæ Rectores
Bis fruſtra tentatis Pacis
Conditionibus, Anno CICIICLII exarſit,
In Quo Maximis
Utrinq; Claſſibus ſex ſeptentrionali,
Duo Mediterranio Mari
Pugnata ſunt cruenta Prælia,
Dei optimi maximi Beneficio, Auſpiciis
Olivarii Magnæ Britannicæ Protecſtoris,
Fæderati Belgii Ordinum,
Pax cum antiquo Fædere reſtituta,
Cujus Optimæ,
Rerum in memoriam
Sempiternam Senatus Populusque
Amſtelodamenſis
Hoc Monumentum fieri curarunt.*

But It is much eaſier to ſtipulate the Conditions of an *Alliance* than to procure the Execution of Them. The STATES
GENERAL

GENERAL were extreamly dissatisfied with the Conduct of *Holland*, and the Exclusion of the PRINCE of ORANGE was so very warmly contested, even among the *States* of that *Province*, that if any Man less able than *Monsieur De Wit*, had been at the Head of the Administration, there is great Reason to believe, *Holland* would not have ratified the Article of the Exclusion. But the Dread They were under of the *English Fleet*, and the total Destruction of their *Commerce*, having at last determined that *Province*, She, by adhering firmly to her own Resolutions, brought over the *States General*; in Consequence of which, the Treaty was ratified and executed in all its Points. The *States* began with paying *nine hundred and fourscore Thousand Florins* for their *Ally* the KING of DENMARK, by Way of Compensation to the *English Merchants*, for the Ships that had been seized by that *Prince*, at the opening of the War. The next Difficulty was to regulate and to satisfy the Losses sustained by the *English* in the *East-Indies*, in Order to which, the *Dutch* complied very exactly with the Terms of the Treaty, and sent Commissioners into *England* within the limited Time, who agreed to restore the *Isle of Poloron*, to make Satisfaction to the Heirs

and Executors of Those who had been Mas-
sacred at *Amboina*, and to furnish *nine hun-*
dred thousand Livres, at two Payments, by
Way of Composition, for all the Pretensions
that *England* might hitherto have against
Them. But notwithstanding all This, CROM-
WEL continued to search their Merchant
Ships, and disturb their *Herring Fishery*. In
Short the *Protector* knew the Superiority of
the *English* over the *Dutch*, and in the Year
before He died, which was in 1658, He con-
tracted the Secret Alliance with LEWIS XIV,
which I have already mentioned under the
Title of *Secretum & inviolabile Fædus*, in
which He engaged Himself to make War
upon *Spain*, and the *United Provinces*, in
Conjunction with *France*, and to divide with
that *Crown* the Conquests that should be
made in the *Netherlands*. But whether this
was his real Intention, or whether, as *Mon-*
sieur Wicquefort insinuates, He had resolved
a little before his Death, to abandon *France*,
and embrace the Offers of *Spain*, is one
of those Doubts to which History is lia-
ble, and which can never be cleared up.

Upon CROMWEL'S Death, the above-
mentioned Treaty remained in Force, and
continued so, 'till after the Restauration,
that a new Alliance was made between
the *States General* and CHARLES II. In
the

the mean Time, RICHARD CROMWEL succeeded his Father in the *Protectorship*; and there cannot be a more convincing Proof of the strong Apprehensions the *Dutch* entertained of OLIVER CROMWEL and the Force of the *English Nation*, than the Complaisance 'They shewed to his Son *Richard*, even after he had proved Himself unable to sustain that Building his Father had erected. The *East-India Company* of *Holland*, having seized and confiscated some *English Ships* at *Bantam*, RICHARD ordered his *Resident Downing* to complain of It at the *Hague*, upon which *Downing* having conferred with *Monsieur De Wit*, and settled the Value of the Ships confiscated, at *six hundred thousand Florins*, the *States General*, in their *Legislative Capacity*, commanded their *East-India Company*, to pay that Sum to the Proprietors. (a) A Justice so much the more remarkable, as the Power of that Company is so excessive in the *United Provinces*, that She may well be considered as an overgrown Member, entirely disproportioned to the Body.

(a) Annales des Provinces Unies, par *Basnage*, Fol. 575.

CHARLES II, was at *Brussels*, when MONK began to pave the Way for his Restauration, from whence he removed to *Breda* at the Desire of that *General*, and when Things were ripe for His coming into *England*, his Majesty resolved to take the *Hague* in his Way, where He paid a Visit both to the STATES GENERAL, and the STATES of HOLLAND, in their several Assemblies; who omitted no *Honours* that might serve to perswade the King of their present Respect and Attachment, or efface from his Memory the hard Treatment He had formerly received from Them.

It is not my Business to relate the several Ceremonies that passed on this Occasion. The KING being arrived at the *Hague*, the STATES GENERAL went to compliment Him in a Body, and *Monfieur De Wit*, who was the Mouth of the Republic, ended his Harrangue with desiring his Majesty to honour the *States General* with his Good Will, and to issue his Orders for negotiating an Alliance that might be the most *intimate*, the *strongest*, and the most *important* of either State. In answer to which, the KING assured the *States* of his Resolution to give Them the strongest Proofs of his Esteem and Affection upon all Occa-

Occasions, that He would contract a very close *Alliance* with their HIGH MIGHTINESSES, and that He should envy any other *Prince*, whose Friendship They might set a greater Value upon than His own.

The KING embarked for *England* in June 1660, and tho' the *States General* had already given Him the utmost marks of Respect and Friendship, yet They resolved to send *Embassadors* extraordinary, to the Court of *Great Britain*, who were to renew their Professions, and conclude a fresh Treaty of *Commerce* and *Alliance*. The EMBASSADORS received the same Compliments at *London*, which the *King* had before made to Their Masters at the *Hague*; but when They gave an Account of their Reception, They represented at the same Time, that their Negotiation was like to be long and difficult, and the Success of It very uncertain; because the *Commissioners* appointed to treat with Them, had renewed all the *Difficulties* and *Objections* that had been made in CROMWEL'S Time, before the opening of the War; and that They persisted in their Resolution to conclude an *Alliance*, in which the Advantage would be entirely on the *King's* Side, previously to the Treaty of
Com^o

Commerce, which was demanded on the Part of the *States General*.

The Truth is, The Negotiation could not but be extreamly difficult; for it was equally Inconsistent with the Honour of CHARLES II, to suffer the *Alliance* formerly made by CROMWEL, to subsist any longer, or, to contract a new One without improving, or at least without preserving the same Advantages and Pretensions which *Cromwel* had done, in all their Extent. But that which was still more likely to ruin their Negotiation, was, his Majesty's Resentment for the ill Usage He had received from Them during his Exile: Notwithstanding all the Compliments that had passed on either Side at the *Hague*, the *King* could never forgive the *States* the Complaisance They had shewn for *Cromwel*, and their cruel and ungrateful Treatment of the young *Prince of Orange* and the *Princess* his Mother, who was his Majesty's Sister, and extreamly dear to Him: to which we may add, That the DUKE of YORK, who had a very great Influence over his Brother, was an utter Enemy to the *Dutch*; He remembred the Insults He had received at the *Hague*, and long'd to be revenged.

It is no wonder therefore, that the *Embassadors* foresaw the Difficulties They were like to meet with in their Negotiation; and if They at last succeeded, it must be certainly attributed to the Necessity of the Times, and the unsettled State of Affairs in *England*, rather than any disposition in the *Court* to keep Measures with the *States General*. CHARLES II, had scarce regained the Throne, when he gave his Subjects the utmost Cause of Discontent, by the Sale of DUNKIRK to the KING of FRANCE; a Bargain, in its own Nature very inglorious for the *Prince*, as well as detrimental to the People, but doubly so, from the Motives that induced the *King* to conclude It, which were the Desire of having a little ready Money, to throw away as he thought fit, and the Assurances He received from *France* of a powerful Protection against any Attempts of his Subjects. The ill Blood that this occasioned, added to the Disputes that reigned in *England*, concerning the *Act of Uniformity*, seemed to threaten an Insurrection on the Part of those who retained a great deal of the old Leaven, and this forced the King, very much against his Inclinations, to enter into a Treaty with the *States General* in September 1662, containing little more than a Renewal of that

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concluded with *Cromwel* some Years before, after It had been executed in every Point, except the Restitution of the *Isle of Poloron*, which the *States* now gave up with a great deal of Alacrity, by Way of Composition for all other Pretensions, which the *English* might have upon Them, for any Losses sustained in the *East-Indies* before the Year 1659. (a) The Article which did the most Honour to *England*, was that of the FLAG, in which the *Dutch* consented to strike their Colours to the *English*; but because this Article was couched in general Terms, and It was not said, that a *Fleet* or *Squadron* belonging to their *High Mightinesses*, should strike to a *Pleasure-boat*, a *Pacquet*, a *Tatcht*, or a *single Man of War*, belonging to the *King of England*; This gave Room to Chicane, and was afterwards the Pretext of a War between the two Nations.

In 1693 CHARLES II, wrote a Letter to the STATES of HOLLAND, in which He told Them, that as it was impossible for Him, who was absent, and at that Distance, to

(a) See the Treaty at large, *Traitez de Paix*, Tome IV. Page 46.

take sufficient Care of the Education of his Nephew, the young *Prince of Orange*, He desired Them to perform that Office conjointly with the *Princess Dowager*; and His Majesty added, that as his Request was an Effect of the great Confidence He placed in Them, their Compliance would be extremely agreeable to Him. (a) But *Monsieur De Wit*, whom the *King* had a Mind to gain by Marks of Confidence, and who was resolved not to be gained, was extremely disconcerted by this Letter; and having consulted his particular Friend, the Count *D'Estrades*, who was then the *French King's Ambassador in Holland*, that Minister represented to Him with a great deal of Prudence, that It was certainly the Interest of the *States*, to undertake the *Guardianship* of the young *Prince*, because They might breed him in such a Manner, as was most consistent with the Good of the *Republic*; and He advised *Monsieur De Wit* to put Himself at the Head of those who should superintend the *Prince's* Education, by which he would have an Opportunity of laying his *Highness* under very great Obligations,

(a) This Letter is dated at *Whitehall*, February the 28th 1663.

by rescuing Him from those Inconveniencies to which he was exposed from the ill Situation of his Affairs, as well as of effacing from his Mind any bad Impressions that He might have received from the *Princess Dowager*. *D' Estrades* added, That He had better make the *Prince* his own, by breeding Him up in a Manner suitable to his Birth, than abandon Him to Others, who would not fail to inspire Him with Sentiments of Revenge, against the Time when He should be able to distinguish the Injury that had been done Him. (a)

This is what Monsieur *D' Estrades* wrote to *Lewis XIV*, and the Event has shewn that He gave the *Grand Pensionary* good Council. But *De Wit* answered, that He was obliged to follow the Opinion of the *Towns* of his *Province*, who He believed were apprehensive of the *Prince's* acquiring too much Power; and the rather, because the People loved Him extreamly. But the Truth is the *Pensionary* was resolved to place his whole Dependance on *Lewis XIV*, and would not trust *Charles II*. in any Respect, tho' that Prince gave Him

(a) *D' Estrades* Memoirs, See his Letter to *Lewis XIV*. February 22. 1668.

the utmost Marks of his Confidence. From all which Monsieur *D' Estrades* thought He had great Reason to conclude, and to acquaint his Master, that the *House of Orange* was entirely Ruined, and that for the Future, It would be in vain to take any Measures, except with the *States*, or, to speak more properly with Monsieur *DeWit*. (a) We may be sure that the *Pensionary* who was all powerful in *Holland*, took Care to inspire the *States* of that *Province* with his own Sentiments; and accordingly their Answer to *King Charles's* Letter, was dry and formal. They distinguished between the *Prince's Person* and his *Estate*, and promised to take a great deal of Care of his *Lands*, especially those that were situated in *Foreign Countries*, which might be done by giving Orders to their *Embassadors* to act strenuously in his Favour, with the *Kings* of *France* and *Spain*, upon whom his Revenues depended; but They declared that the *Consideration of past Times and Actions, the Constitution of the Republic and several important Reflections that resulted from thence, would not permit them to go any further.* (b) This An-

(a) See *D' Estrades* Letter to the King, the 22d of *March*, 1663.

(b) See the Letter of the *States of Holland* to *Charles II*, dated at the *Hague* April 27, 1663.

swer could not but irritate CHARLES II. and as the Disposition of Monsieur DE WITT and the STATES of HOLLAND towards his Majesty and the HOUSE of ORANGE, are very strongly characterised in the Passages I have just now quoted, from Authorities that are incontestable, This is the Place in which I chuse to distinguish the Motives that might lead CHARLES II. to engage in the War of 1665, which is commonly call'd the *first Dutch War*, from those that induced Him to fall upon the *United Provinces* in 1672.

The *States of Holland* could not have expressed their Hatred of the *Stadtholdership* more effectually than by refusing to superintend the Education of the young *Prince of Orange*, or to joyn their Cares to those of the *King* his *Uncle*, and the *Princess* his *Grandmother* in Order to render Him worthy of the Employments that had been so gloriously excuted by his Ancestors.

But an Aversion for the Concerns and Welfare of the Young *Prince*, was not the only thing to be understood from the Refusal of the *States of Holland*; which implied a great Indifference, if not a Contempt for *Charles II.* and naturally supposed a *Foreign Alliance* and Protection powerful enough to Guarantee the State from the *King of England's* Resentment,

Of all the Powers of *Europe*, FRANCE was the only One, capable of giving the *United Provinces* this Protection, and the *Pensionary* believed He had taken his Measures so well, as to be sure of the Assistance of that *Crown* upon any Emergency. In this dependance, He was not afraid to disoblige the *Uncle* in the *Person* of his *Nephew*; and therefore, If It would have been glorious for *Charles II.* to have restored the young *Prince* of *Orange* to the Dignities of his Ancestors, It must be owned that It was also the Interest of *England*, to break the Cabal that governed the *Province* of *Holland*, and rescue the *Republic* out of the Hands of *LEWIS XIV.* who from the Partiality of *Monsieur De Wit*, and the Dexterity of his Embassador *D' Estrades*, was in a Manner absolute Master of the *United Provinces*. *OLIVER CROMWEL* could not bear a Union of Councils between *France* and *Holland*, and tho' the Memory of this Person be justly hateful amongst us in some Respects, yet I am not afraid to adopt some of his Maxims.

CHARLES II. was sufficiently irritated by the Conduct of *Holland*, to have declared War immediately, against the *United Provinces*; but my Lord *Bristol* having impeached the *Earl of Clarendon* of

High Treason, the Change that followed upon this at Court, and the Cry that was made for *Uniformity* in Religion, by one Part of the Nation, and for *Toleration* by the other, having divided Men's Affections, and kept the *Parliament* so much employ'd with *Domestick* Affairs, as not to have Leisure to attend to the foreign Interests of the Kingdom; his *Majesty* was obliged to smother his Resentment for the present.

But in 1664, the *Parliament* was no sooner met, than our *East-India Company* presented a Petition, representing the Losses They had sustained from the Enterprizes of the *Dutch* in the *East-Indies*; and this being seconded by other Complaints from the *Royal African*, and *Guinea Companies*, the *Parliament* immediately addressed his *Majesty*, complaining in the Name of all the Merchants of *London*, of the several Insults and Losses They had suffered from the *Hollanders*; which being received by the Court, in such a Manner as served to encrease, rather than suppress their Discontent, the *Parliament's* Resentment became so violent, that when the *King* came to put an End to the Sessions, the *Speaker* recommended to his *Majesty* the Interest of the Nation against *Holland*, and the *Parliament* having

having already settled the necessary Funds, the *City of London* lent the KING a *Million*, for the Service of the *Fleet*.

During the Remainder of the Year 1664, several Hostilities were committed by both Parties on the Coast of *Africa*, which served to heighten their Animosity. The *Dutch East-India Company*, complained in their Turn of the Violencies committed by the *English*; upon which, the *States General* resolved to redress their Grievances; and Things being come to such an Extremity, that War with *England* was no longer to be avoided, They gave the necessary Orders for fitting out their *Fleet*, and putting Themselves into a Posture of Defence: They sent at the same Time, an *Embassador extraordinary* to the *Court of France*, who was ordered to represent the Injustice of the Complaints that *England* made against the *Dutch*, to justify the Conduct of the *States General*, to remind LEWIS XIV, of the Alliance He had lately contracted with Them, and to require his *Majesty* to declare plainly to *Charles II*, that in Consequence of the Engagements He had entered into with the *States General*, He was not only obliged to forbear the Renewal of the Treaty of Friendship which the *King of England* desired with Him, but that He could not even remain in Peace

with *Great Britain*, if his Majesty broke with the *Dutch*. But the little Success that *Van Beuninghen* met with in his Negotiation, made it plain that either *Monfieur De Wit* was the *Dupe* of *D'Eftrades*, or that the Latter was Himself imposed upon by his Master, if He imagined his *Most Christian Majesty* had any Intention to comply with the Engagements he had contracted with the *States General*, according to the Letter of the Treaty.

In the Beginning of the Year 1665 the Hostilities that had been committed for some Time, between the *English* and *Dutch* were authorised by a formal Declaration of War. The Duke of *Tork* put to Sea in Quality of *High Admiral*, and the Grand Fleets of *England* and *Holland*, which consisted of above one hundred Sail of the Line, on the Part of each Nation, having met each Other on the 14th of *June*, a memorable Engagement was fought, in which the *Dutch Admiral* blew up, and the *English* obtained a compleat Victory. (a) The *Dutch Fleet* was chased into the Harbours of *Holland*; and had any

(a) See the Particulars of this Fight in the Compleat History of *England*. Also *Burnet's* History of his own Times. And in *Lord Arlington's* Letters.

Man less indefatigable than Monsieur *De Wit* been at the Head of Affairs; It would have been impossible for It to have put to Sea again that Summer. But this Minister was superior to all Difficulties, and having with incredible Industry repaired the Ships, punished a Part of the Officers who had not performed their Duty, rewarded others, and made the famous RUYTER *Lieutenant Admiral* and Commander in Chief, in the Place of Monsieur *Opdam*, He resolved to embark on Board the Fleet, notwithstanding all the Opposition of his Friends, some of whom did not stick to Insinuate that he chose rather to expose Himself to the Hazards of the Sea, than to confront the Dangers that threatned Him at Home, from the ill Temper of the People, exasperated against Him by the ill success of the *Fleet*, and the Love they entertained for the House of *Orange*.

The *English Fleet* had likewise put to Sea again before that of the *United Provinces*, but notwithstanding the Ardour of the Commanding Officers, it was impossible for them to join each other; and after having weathered a violent Storm, They were obliged to return Home without coming to a general Engagement. The *Hollanders* however had suffered infinitely more from the

bad Weather than the *English*, who had taken several *Dutch East-India-Men*, before *Ruyter* could put to Sea; and this had exasperated Monsieur *De Wit* to such a Degree that He prevailed with the *States General* to send out their *Fleet* a third Time, which after having made a *Cruise*, without meeting that of *England*, which then suffered extremely from the *Plague* that raged in *London*, and many other Parts of the Kingdom, returned to *Holland*, without doing any Thing memorable.

During the *Winter*, several Negotiations were attempted, in order to procure a Peace; but These not having taken Effect, and the *Parliament*, who were zealous for the War, having voted the King 1200000*l.* for the Service of the *Navy*, the *Fleet* put to Sea early in the Year 1666, under the Command of Prince *Rupert* and the Duke of *Albemarle*.

In the mean Time, the State of the *United Provinces*, was really deplorable, as is evident from a Passage in *D' Estrade's* Memoirs, which shews the Interior of the Province of *Holland*. LEWIS XIV, thought the *Republic* Powerful, because It was Rich; and happy, because the People paid their Taxes readily. ' Of all the States of *Eu-*
rope,

‘ rope, says that *Prince*, there goes most Mo-
 ‘ ney into *Holland*; we see a Fleet arrive
 ‘ there every Year, loaden with Merchan-
 ‘ dize to the Value of *two Millions*, which is im-
 ‘ mediately turnned into SPECIE, by the Ne-
 ‘ cessity the Neighbouring Nations are under
 ‘ of having those Commodities, and the Mo-
 ‘ ney is again easily drawn from the Peo-
 ‘ ple, under the colour of *Liberty*. For
 ‘ this Reason, says *his Majesty*, the Princes
 ‘ of *Orange*, have chosen not to make Them-
 ‘ selves Masters of the *State* when They
 ‘ might have done It; because whilst They
 ‘ remained only *Generals of the Republic*,
 ‘ They found it very easy under the Pretence
 ‘ of *Liberty*, to drain the Purse of the Peo-
 ‘ ple upon any Immurgency; whereas, had
 ‘ They made Themselves Sovereigns, the smal-
 ‘ est Contribution would have past in the Opi-
 ‘ nion of the Populace, for an intolerable
 ‘ Exaction, extorted for the sole Interest,
 ‘ and Advantage of the Prince. (a)

This was his Majestys way of Reason-
 ing, which appears so much the more
 just, as the *Dutch*, after having lost their
Admiral and *twenty three Men of War* in the

(a) *D' Estrade's Memoires*, See *LEWIS XIV's Letter* to
 that Minister, January 1, 1666.

Engagement of 1665, had found the Means to put to Sea again in two Months, with a *Fleet* very little inferiour to the former ; and as the *Lois*, which the *Province of Holland* sustained a little Time after by the Prize of Her *India Men*, did not hinder Her from furnishing forty *Millions of Livres* for the Service of the *Navy* in the ensuing Year.

But Monsieur *D' Estrades*, who knew the *Republic* much better than his *Master*, expresses Himself thus. ‘ *It is impossible,* ‘ says He, *That Holland can furnish forty* ‘ *Millions more* for the Service of another ‘ Year, without bringing about a *Revolution in* ‘ *the Government*. I have had an Opportu- ‘ nity of being convinced of this more ‘ perfectly within these four Days. That ‘ which made the great Plenty of Money ‘ subsists no Longer ; I mean the *Zeal of* ‘ *the Town of Amsterdam to furnish the* ‘ *necessary Sums*, for the more immediate ‘ Expences of the *State*. Every Man ‘ now Locks up his Money, and those ‘ Millions that are produced by Com- ‘ merce do not circulate as usual. And ‘ tho’ Those who are at the Head of the ‘ Administration, do all They can to conceal this Alteration of Affairs, yet They ‘ are in a great deal of Pain about It, as well ‘ as for the bad Discipline of their *Army*, in ‘ which

‘ which They do not know how to take
 ‘ proper Measures, for want of having a
 ‘ Person sufficiently qualified at the Head
 ‘ of It. The *States* are so jealous of their
 ‘ Authority, and the Title of *Sovereign*,
 ‘ that They chuse to suffer considerable
 ‘ Losses, and turn *Generals* Themselves, ra-
 ‘ ther than employ Those that are capa-
 ‘ ble of that Function. I observe likewise,
 ‘ the ill Effects that will in all Probability
 ‘ follow from the injudicious Assignment of
 ‘ *Winter Quarters*, as well to your *Majesty’s*
 ‘ *Troops*, as to those of the *Republic*; which
 ‘ are dispersed into Places where there is
 ‘ a great Scarcity of *Forage*, and where
 ‘ Provisions are so dear, that both One
 ‘ and the Other run a very great Risque of
 ‘ being starved before the opening of the
 ‘ *Campagne*. I have made very strong Re-
 ‘ presentations of all these Inconveniencies;
 ‘ They confess there wants a Remedy, but
 ‘ the Redress does not follow. (a)

In another Letter to *Monsieur de Lionne*,
 the *Count D’ Estrades* expresses Himself thus.

‘ Permit me to explain my self. When
 ‘ I wrote you word that the *Funds* for

(a) See his Answer to the King’s Letter, Jan. 7. 1666.

‘ the service of this Year, were settled, It
 ‘ was at a Time when all the Towns had
 ‘ given their Consent, and that *Amsterdam*
 ‘ set an Example to the Rest; but now
 ‘ that the opposite *Cabals* do all They can to
 ‘ traverse us, that *Amsterdam draws in her*
 ‘ *Horns*, and that *De Wit’s Party* dimi-
 ‘ nishes every Day, the *Funds* are no
 ‘ longer to be relied on, and the present
 ‘ Administration must certainly fail. The
 ‘ *Assembly* of the *States of Holland*, is at
 ‘ present composed of *four hundred Persons*;
 ‘ I have invited Them to Dinner and *Mon-*
 ‘ *sieur De Wit* has done as much, in Or-
 ‘ der to fix Those that were wavering;
 ‘ but there is a necessity for being al-
 ‘ ways in Action, for if only One or Two
 ‘ Towns should refuse to contribute, the
 ‘ Revolution would soon be universal, be-
 ‘ cause they would certainly be supported
 ‘ by some very considerable Persons in
 ‘ the *State*, who are *Monsieur De Wit’s* Ene-
 ‘ mies. His *Majesty’s* Protection however
 ‘ is of very great Weight to his Party.
 (a) It was impossible to represent the *Re-*
public more justly, and accordingly LEWIS

(a) See his Letter to *Monsieur de Lionne*.

XIV, being convinced of the Capacity and sound Judgment of his *Embassador*, made Answer. ‘ That if the *Republic* was
 ‘ not so powerful as He had imagined Her,
 ‘ She was by much too haughty then,
 ‘ and had done ill to refuse *England* such
 ‘ Terms, as *Monsieur De Wit* ought to have
 ‘ acquiesced in, since He was more sensible
 ‘ of his own Weakness than any Body
 ‘ else.

Such was the State of the *United Provinces*. The Fund necessary for carrying on the War, depended on the Zeal of *Amsterdam*, which was extremely inconstant ; and the *Grand Pensionary* was forced to rely on the Patronage of the *King of France*, for the support of his Authority ; who did at last declare Himself for the *United Provinces* against *England*. ‘ This is, says His Majesty, *speaking of that Declaration*, a very great step
 ‘ made for the *sole Interest* of the *States*,
 ‘ and almost in every Respect *contrary to my own*; GOD send They may remember It, when
 ‘ Time shall serve, with a *Suitable Gratitude*.
 (a) Yet the Design of this *Prince*, was no more in Reality, than to irritate the two great

(a) Letter from LEWIS XIV, to Count D’ *Estrades*, January 29, 1666.

Maritime Powers of Europe one against the other, in order to destroy their *Commerce* and agrandise his own Dominions at their Expence.

Notwithstanding the ill State of Affairs in *Holland*, Monsieur DE WIT found Means to put to Sea, a Fleet of *eighty three Sail of the Line of Battle*, besides *Frigates* and *Bomb Vessels*, of which *Admiral Ruyter* had the Command, and his Orders were to make Sail towards the *Coast of England*, in order to find the *Enemy's Fleet*. He was also to notify his being at Sea to the Governor of *CALAIS*, in order to hasten the Motions of the *French Fleet*, by Which, agreeable to the Assurances given the *States General* by the *Court of France*, He was to be joyned, but the Event made it plain that *LEWIS XIV.* had no such Intentions.

It would require a Volume to describe the Particulars of the several Engagements that were fought this Year between the *Fleets of England and Holland*. The first Action lasted from the 11th to the 15th of *June*, and during the three first Days, the *English Fleet* was commanded solely by the *Duke of Albemarle*, *Prince Rupert* having been detached with a *Squadron of thirty Ships*, to prevent the imaginary Junction of the
French

French Fleet with that of *Holland*. This Detachment, the Effect of false Intelligence, made the *Dutch* superiour in Force, and gave Them an Advantage in this Engagement, which the *English* repaired before the Summer was over, by the entire Defeat of their Fleet; which having been chased into their very Harbours, occasioned violent Emotions in the several *Towns* of *Holland* and *Zealand*. However, by the extream Diligence of Monsieur *De Wit*, the *Fleet* was repaired, and sent to *Sea* again, before the Summer was over; the *English* also kept the *Sea*; but different Accidents having hindred the *Fleets* from coming up with one another for some Time, and the Season proving very tempestuous, the commanding Officers on either Side, thought proper to retire to their own *Ports*, about the Middle of *October*.

This War cost *England* a great many Lives, and was very expensive; the *Kingdom* had suffered extreamly from the *Plague*, and by the *Fire of London*, thirteen thousand *Houses* had been reduced to Ashes. *Ireland* was rebellious; a Party in *Scotland* had actually taken up Arms upon a Religious Pretext, and had fought the *King's Forces*, by whom They were defeated indeed, but the *Court* had

had still Reason to apprehend fresh Com-
 motions: Upon which, Those who are
 least willing to allow the Constancy and
 Power of the *English*, are forced to confess,
 that a Course of Calamities equal to Those
 which oppressed *Great Britain* at the Junc-
 ture I am treating of, would have been
 Sufficient to have sunk any other Nation.
 Yet the *Parliament* granted the *King* the
 necessary Supplies, with as much Readiness
 as if all had been well; and when the
Swedish Embassadors, amidst their Compli-
 ments to *Charles II*, seemed to insinuate the
 Necessity of making a Peace with *Holland*,
 the *King* Answered, with a Gallantry pec-
 uliar to Him, ‘ That the *Fire* had only
 ‘ consumed a Parcel of *old Houses*, which
 ‘ Time had already ruined, but that They
 ‘ would soon see *LONDON* rebuilt with
 ‘ greater Magnificence; like old *Rome*,
 ‘ when She exchanged her *Mud Walls*, for
 ‘ *Marble*. He added, That the fire had
 ‘ not done so much Mischief as was Ima-
 ‘ gined, the *Citizens* having saved the best
 ‘ of their Effects, but that which vexed
 ‘ Him most, was that the Wind had been
 ‘ contrary for some Days past, and had
 ‘ hindred his *Fleet* from acting against
 ‘ that of *Holland*. I am, said the *KING*,
 ‘ of as good a Family as *Cromwel* at least,
 ‘ and

‘ and therefore, the *States* ought to send
 ‘ me their Deputies hither, as They did to
 ‘ the *Usurper*; and when I know their
 ‘ Pretentions, a Place may be named for
 ‘ holding a *Congress*.

One would have concluded, from this Answer, that his *Majesty* was very well informed, and that knowing his own Superiority, and how much They wanted the Peace in *Holland*, He was determined to make Them buy It at his own Price; but the Event shewed the Contrary. ENGLAND had hitherto carried on the War with Honour, and had the *King* entered into a Negotiation immediately after the last Victory, He might certainly have concluded a glorious Peace; but this He fatally omitted, and which is worse, He absolutely neglected to make the necessary Provisions for supporting the War with Vigour.

To speak Truth, the Money given by *Parliament* for the Supply of the *Navy*, had been squandered away in loose and voluptuous Pleasures, which reduced the King to accept such a Peace as the *French* thought fit to impose upon Him, by the Treaty of *Breda* in July 1667, after the *Dutch* had visited the *Coasts* of *England* without Opposition, and had made that successful
 Attack

Attack upon our Fleet in the River *Medway*, so much to their own Glory, and the Dishonour of *Charles II.*

The following *Alternative* proposed by the *Court of France*, was the Foundation of that *PEACE of BREDa*. *Either that both Parties should make a general and reciprocal Restitution of all that They had taken from each other during the War, or keep what they were possessed of, and annihilate all further Pretensions.* The latter of the two was chosen, as being the surest, and least liable to Exception, by Virtue of which the *Isle of Poleron* beforementioned, which the *Dutch* had taken from Us during the War, was now confirmed to Them for ever, and by that They became absolute Masters of all the *Cloves* in the *East-Indies*.

VAN BEUNINGHEN, the *Dutch Ambassador* at *Paris*, thought this *Isle* of so great Importance, that He warmly told the *Earl of St. Albans*, and I think impudently enough, that rather than restore It, He Himself would oppose the Resolution of the *States General* tho' there should not be another *Man in Holland* to second Him. The *English* it seems had sowed *Cloves* upon the *Island*, whilest It was in their Possession, which made it so much the Object of the *Dutch East-India Company*, that They would

would not hear of restoring It; but the very same Reason ought to have obliged *Charles II*, never to have made Peace without It.

By the same Article which gave up the *Isle of Poleron*, That of *Surinam* was likewise relinquished to the *Dutch West-India Company*; The Article of the *Flag* was but loosely worded; the Interest of the *House of Orange*, was utterly neglected; and in short, the Peace being made, *De Wit* thought He could do Nothing more glorious than to annihilate the *Stadtholdership of Holland* for ever, which was done by a Resolution of the *States of that Province*, on the 5th of *August 1661*, which is commonly stiled the *Perpetual Edict*. (a)

But tho' the Treaty of *Breda*, had put an End to Hostilities; It was far from restoring a good Intelligence between the two Nations; which Nothing would have done but the Necessity of uniting together, in Order to oppose the ambitious Designs of *LEWIS XIV*, whose Progress in the *Spanish Netherlands*, during the Congress at

(a) See Part I. Page 243.

Breda, having alarmed all his Neighbours, the *Triple League* was concluded in 1668, between *England*, *Sweden*, and the *United Provinces*, and this brought on the *Peace of Aix la Chapelle*, which saved the Remainder of *Flanders* from falling into the Hands of *France*.

AS CHARLES II, had in a great Measure regained the Confidence of his Subjects, by the Conclusion of the *Triple League*, so the Share He had in making the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, recovered the Reputation He had lost Abroad, by the Treaty of *Breda*. And as the *Dutch* were now very justly alarmed with the ambitious Designs of *Lewis XIV*, and of Consequence very desirous to maintain a perfect Friendship with *England*, if this Disposition had been well cultivated, on the Part of *Charles II*, It is highly probable that He might have brought the *States General* into his Dependance, and have prevailed with the *States of Holland*, to reverse the Resolutions They had taken to the prejudice of the *Prince of Orange*. But instead of pursuing these Measures, He unhappily fell into Engagements with *Lewis XIV*, that were at once directly opposite to those He had entered into by Virtue of the *Triple Alliance*, as well as inconsistent with his own Honour,

Honour, the Good of his *Kingdom*, and the Welfare of *Europe* in General.

In 1670, LEWIS XIV, sent the DUTCH-
 CRESS of ORLEANCE to *Dover*, where
 She had an Interview with the *King* her
 Brother, and then It was that *Charles II*,
 was engaged, not only to break the *Tri-
 ple League*, but even to attack the *United
 Provinces* in Conjunction with *Lewis XIV*.
 Few Persons are ignorant of the Particu-
 lars of the War, which was accordingly
 declared against the *States General*, by
France and *England*, in 1672. It was up-
 on this Occasion that my *Lord Chancellor
 Shaftsbury*, in a famous Speech in the
House of Lords, applied the *Delenda Carthago*,
 to the *Republic* of the *United Provinces*, and
 gave It as his Opinion, that the *Dutch*
 were not only to be humbled, but total-
 ly destroy'd. The *Court* published, that
 the *English* were to have *Holland* and
Zealand, when They should be conquered;
 but this the *French* deny entirely; nor in-
 deed, did *Lewis XIV*, or his General the
Duke of Luxemburg make any Step, whilst
 in *Holland*, that looked like putting the
 Places conquered in that *Province*, into the
 Hands of the *English*; so that had the
 Projects of the two *Kings* succeeded accor-
 ding to their wish, It is to be presumed,

that *Charles II*, would have found Himself, the *Dupe* of the *French King's* Policy, after having been the Instrument of his Ambition. But the *Parliament*, justly apprehensive of the growing Power of *France*, obliged the *King* to make a separate Peace with the *Dutch* in 1674, which being done, his *Majesty* offered his Mediation, for concluding One between *France* and the *United Provinces*, with the other Powers that had taken Part in the War; but his Mediation having produced no Effect, the *Parliament* addressed the *King*, in 1667, with a great deal of Earnestness, begging that his *Majesty* would please to interest Himself more effectually for putting a Stop to the Progress of the *French Arms*, and for the Safety of the *Spanish Netherlands*; ‘ In the
‘ Preservation and Security of which, They
‘ humbly conceived the *Interest* of his *Majesty*, and the *Safety* of his *People* were
‘ highly concerned; and therefore, They
‘ most humbly besought Him, to take the
‘ same into his *Royal Care*, and to strengthen
‘ Himself with such stricter Alliances as
‘ might secure his *Majesty's* Kingdoms, preserve the said *Spanish Netherlands*, and
‘ thereby quiet the Minds of his People. (a)

(a) See the Journal of the House of Commons, 1667.

The *Lords* concurred with the *Commons* in this Address, which was followed by six more to the same Purpose, and enforced with such vigorous Resolutions, that the *King* found Himself obliged, notwithstanding the Hazard He ran of losing the *French King's* Friendship, to conclude a defensive Alliance with the *States General*, in January 1678, which was succeeded by Another in *March*, and a Third in *July* following, which together brought on the Peace of *Nimeghen* in the Month of *August* of the same Year; and This was the last Treaty of Consequence in which *England* interfered with the Interest of the *United Provinces*, during the rest of *Charles the Second's* Reign, with whom I shall end my Deduction of the *Alliances* that have been formed between the *Kings of England* and the *States General*; the View we have taken of the Transactions of the several Reigns already considered, joyned to a Knowledge of the present State of *Great Britain* and the *United Provinces*, being sufficient to instruct us, what are the real Interests of the two *Nations*, how They interfere, and what Proportion their Forces and Power bear to each other.

We have seen *QUEEN ELIZABETH* refuse the *Sovereignty* of the *United Provinces*, because She would not hazard a War with *Philip II*, nor engage the Honour of the *Crown* in the Maintainance of a Point, which as Things then stood, might have proved a greater Charge to Her, than *England* was equal to. But She lent Them considerable Sums, which her own Frugality enabled her to spare, and at the same Time exacted such Pledges as might serve to secure the *Gratitude* of her new *Allies* if successful, or to appease and oblige *Spain*, by a well timed Surrendry, had that *Crown* been able to have reduced the *revolted Provinces* to their former Obedience.

JAMES I, should not have parted with the *Cautionary Towns*; which were no sooner restored, than the *Dutch*, unsatisfied with their own large Share of *Commerce*, and forgetful of past Obligations, began to undermine the Trade of *England*; omitting no Sort of foul Play to bring about their Design, in which They persisted with Impunity, during the rest of this *King's* inglorious Reign, and all that of his unfortunate Successor.

The War between *England* and *Holland* in *Cromwel's* Time, was begun and ended with a View to the *Protector's* personal Interest.

Had

Had *Cromwel* entered into It for the sake of *Trade*, and persisted in It, 'till He had procured us a Share in the *Commerce* of the *fine Spices*, and settled Us upon an equal Footing with the *Dutch*, in the *East-Indies*, He would have done his Country an inestimable Service. Nor was there any Danger in humbling *Holland* at this Time, because the *Ballance* of Power was not yet so much broke between *France* and *Spain*, as to make the Welfare of the *United Provinces*, necessary to the Preservation of the *Spanish Netherlands*.

But *Cromwel* assisted to destroy this *Balance*, by declaring against *Spain*; and It was so much broke at the *Restoration*, that I fear *CHARLES II*, is not to be excused for entering into the *first Dutch War*; but we cannot own this, without reflecting on the immoderate Ambition of *John De Wit*, and his cruel Treatment of the *House of Orange*, which certainly contributed to force *Charles II*, into the Arms of *France*.

During the Reign of this Prince, the Sentiments of *England*, concerning our Interest with the *United Provinces*, were divided into Extreams. The *Courtiers* considered Them as our great Rivals in *Trade*, and *maritime Power*; It was said, there

could be no compounding where the Contest was for the *Commerce of the whole World*, and from hence They concluded, that either *England* or *Holland* must be destroy'd. The Country Party on the other Hand, looked upon Them as our best Friends, or as Mr. Waller phrases It, *Our Out-Guard on the Continent*, They believed the Security of the *Dutch* essential to our own, and were zealous to promote their Power, without being in the least concerned about the *Rivalship* so much insisted upon by the other Side.

At the *Revolution*, the Interest of *England* did really become the same with that of the *United Provinces*, and had *WILLIAM III.* left Children behind Him, our *Princes* must have been *hereditary Stadtholders*, of six of the *United Provinces*, which in Time would have brought on such a *Coalition*, as was projected by *Oliver Cromwel.*

The *French War* continued to make a *Union of Councils* between the two Nations very necessary, 'till the Power of *France* was reduced, and the Security of the *Netherlands* provided for, in the Manner It is by the *Barrier Treaty* of 1715, and there are some general Points, which still continue to make a good Understanding essential

sential to the Happiness of either People; such as the Interest of the *Protestant Religion* and the several *Guarantees* into which the *Dutch* are entered, in Conjunction with *Great Britain*, as well with Respect to our foreign Interests, as our Domestick Affairs, the Principal of which are the *Succession* of the *Crown in our present Royal Family*; and the Renunciation made by the present *King of Spain*, to the *Crown of France*, at the Treaty of *Utrecht*. Yet I will venture to say, there is not that *Sameness of Interests* between the two Nations, that subsisted from the *Revolution* to the *Peace of Utrecht*, and I hope we are now in a Temper to receive a middle Doctrine, between the two Extreams that reigned during the Time of CHARLES II. The DUTCH are our Rivals in TRADE and NAVIGATION, yet They must not be destroy'd; They are really our OUTGUARD upon the CONTINENT, and yet we may do too much for Them.

The only great Points of Commerce in which the *Dutch* exceed the *English*, are *Navigation*, the *East-India Trade*, and the several *Sea Fisheries*. The first, is owing to the cheapness of their *Freight*, and this proceeds from the advantagious Trade they drive with *Germany* and the *Baltick*, by which They are supplied with *Timber*, and all sorts of
Naval

naval Stores cheaper than the *English*; to which must be added, their parsimonious Method of Living, a Point in which our Countrymen will never equal Them; and therefore We cannot think of making the *Exchange of Commodities*, between the *Northern and Southern Parts of Europe*, by *English Ships*, unless We should first resolve, to make Use of the present vast Superiority of our *naval Force*, to ruin the *Province of Holland* entirely, which it would be Cruelty to think of.

As to the *East-India Trade*, the *English* have certainly Reason to envy *Holland* the Monopoly of the *fine Spices*; and tho' I will not pretend to say, that We ought to make Use of our present Superiority, to wrest any of the *Spice Islands* from the *Dutch*, which however would be returning the same Usage We have received from Them when They were Strongest, yet there may perhaps be Places in the same *Latitude* with the *Molucca Islands*, which They are not yet possessed of, and where the *English* might settle, and plant the *fine Spices*. Such a Design is not at all unworthy the utmost Consideration of our *East-India Company*, and it cannot be doubted but the *Crown* would be very ready to countenance

an undertaking, which would render the *East-India Trade*, of infinite Advantage to the Nation.

As to the *Herring, Cod*, and *Whale Fisheries*, from which the *Dutch* are supposed to derive as great a Profit as They do from their *East-India Trade*, We have the Pleasure to see the Last of Them undertaken to very great Advantage by our *South-Sea Company*; and for the *Cod Fishery*, I own, I hope never to see it in the Hands of any particular set of Men, because it would be infinitely profitable to the Nation in General, and may be undertaken by private Adventurers with a Certainty of Success.

There is no Secret in the *Salting of Cod*, and our *Merchants* that inhabit the *Northern Coasts of England*, lie full as well as the *Dutch*, for sending their Vessels to the *Dogger-Bank*, and would have this Advantage over Them, *That the best Bait in the World for Cod, is to be found no where in so great Quantities as in England; I mean the Fish called a Lamprey, of which the Dutch buy up from our inland Fishermen all that they can possibly procure.*

The *Herring Fishery* is of far greater Consequence than the former. I will not pretend to enter into the Famous Question, *Whether the Sea is free or not*, because I could not
hope

hope to say any Thing new upon a Subject that has employed the two best Pens of the last Age; (a) but I will set down what I know of the Manner in which the *Dutch* carry on this Trade, which may possibly be of some Service to those who may hereafter undertake it in *Great-Britain*.

I have already spoken of the Number of *Busses* that the *Dutch* employ in the *Her-ring Fishery* (b) They are fitted out in the Month of *May*, and are obliged by an Ordinance of the *States General*, not to cast their Nets before the 24th. of *June*, the Reason of which I take to be, that the *Sholes* may not be broke, before all the *Busses* are got together; which would be equally prejudicial to the Public, as advantagious to those who had the good Luck to be first upon the Coast of *Scotland*.

On the 24th. of *June*, new Stile, they begin to fish on the *North-West Coast* of *Scotland*, with Nets that are excessively long and deep, and the Reader may easily figure to Himself, the vast Havock that is made by seven or eight hundred *Busses*,

(a) *Selden* and *Grotius*, See *Mare clausum*, and *Mare liberum*

(b) See Part 2, Page 268.

which cast their Nets close to One Another, amongst Fish that swim in *Sholes* like the young Fry in our fresh Water Rivers.

The Moment the Net is drawn, Part of the Crew set about cutting the *Herrings*, which pass from their Hands into Others, that pack them up as quick as possible with *French Salt* & Pickle, into clean Casks which are instantly stowed away in the Hold.

The first *Herrings* that are taken, are immediately dispatched for *Holland*, on Board small vessels that attend the *Busses* with Provisions, and are sold at extravagant Prices; the People of Fashion are as fond of them, as we are of *Mackerel* in the begining of the Season, and when They come to be plentiful the common People eat Them with Greediness, and believe them a Specific for whatever Distemper They are troubled with.

When the *Busses* have catched a sufficient Quantity They make what Sail they can to *Holland*, where They are unloaded and refitted for the *Sea* in a few Days. In the mean Time, the *Herrings*, which are said to make an annual Tour round the Island of great *Britain*, are considerably advanced ; and constant Experience has taught
the

the *Dutch* where to fall in with Them with as much Certainty as at first.

Whilst the *Busses* are out upon their second Voyage, their Proprietors are not idle in *Holland*, where the *Herrings* are taken out of their *Sea-Package*, put into large Tubs with fresh Salt and Pickle, and repacked into Casks for Exportation.

This is the History of the *Herring Fishery* in little, which is attended with all those Advantages I have mentioned in the second Part of this Book. (a) As to what is said of a particular Secret amongst the *Dutch* in the Manner of Salting their *Herrings*, I believe it a Chimera, the whole Art consisting in an extream *Neatness* in all the Materials used in the Manufactory, and in curing the *Herrings* as soon as *They* are taken, or if I may use the Expression, in killing them with the very Salt with which *They* are pickled, before the Air and Sun have made any impression upon Them.

It is incontestable that the *Herring Fishery* may be carried on to very great Advantage by the People of *England* and *Scotland*, did They apply Themselves to It in the same

(a) See Part II. Page 266.

Manner with the *Dutch*, which was lately attempted by a *Fishing Company* in *Scotland*, who took a Subscription in the Year 1720, built Vessels in Imitation of the *Dutch Busses* and had People, Nets and Utensils from *Holland*: Yet the Attempt was attended with so little Success, that I am informed the *Company* have some Time since sold off their *Busses*, and other Materials.

The common Methods of *Fishing* practised by the Inhabitants of *Scotland*, is in small open Boats where the *Herrings* are exposed to the Sun till the Boat is fully loaded, and are consequently so much heated before They are brought on Shore that They become unfit to take Salt, which is the true Reason of the great Disparity between the *Scotch* and *Dutch Herrings*.

Another Disadvantage that arises from the smallness of the *Scotch Fishing Boats* is their being unable to follow the *Herrings*, when the Wind is so tempestuous as to force them out of the *Shallows*, into deep Water; whereas the *Dutch* keep the Sea in all Weathers, by which They often have the *Herrings* to Themselves; and if We may believe the *Scotch*, They are frequently so malicious, as to run in close upon the Coast, even after They have taken their own Cargoes, on purpose
to

to *break the Scholes and interrupt the Scotch Fishermen*, which it is very easy to do from the Superiority of their Vessels.

Why *England* has neglected to improve this *Fishery*, can be owing to nothing but the Necessity We have been under of living in perfect Friendship and Harmony with the *Dutch*, for forty Years past; nor will I presume to say when it may be our Interest to *assert the Right of our Coast*, to the prejudice of the *Hollander*; but I will venture to observe, that it is a very great Happiness to have so great a Resource as the *Herring Fishery* in our Power, which may be an excellent Nursery for *Seamen*, and give Employment to our Poor, in that Time, when from the Improvements that may be made in other Nations, there may come to be a less Demand for our *Manufactures* than at present, which may perhaps deserve to be a little more thought of than it is, even at this Juncture.

These are the principal Points in which the Interests of *Great Britain* and *Holland*, interfere with each other. There are many other Articles however of an inferiour Nature that may deserve Consideration. Of These, I shall take the Liberty to mention, *Linnen, Slit Deals, and Wainscot Boards*, the first of which we import from *Holland*, in
vast

vast Quantities, very much to the Prejudice of the People of *Ireland*, who I am told, expect that we should make some Alteration for the Promotion of a *Manufactory* amongst Them, which is perhaps the only One We can encourage in that Kingdom without great Prejudice to Ourselves. But it cannot be expected that *England* should make such a Step, whilst They themselves continue wantonly to import great Quantities of *Dutch Linnen*, tho' they have so good of their own. The Importation of *Deals* and *Wainscot Boards* into *England*, proceeds from an *Act of Parliament*, which forbids the Use of *Sawing Mills* within such a Dimension; and tho' I would not be thought Guilty of presuming to oppose my Sentiments to those of the Legislature, yet if there be any Truth in the Proverb, that says, *A Penny saved is a Penny got*, and if it be true that *Numbers of People make the Riches of a Country*, then surely We ought to encourage all *Machines* that serve to rescind Labour, which is in Effect to multiply our Inhabitants, None of whom ought to be idle, whilst there remains a Piece of *Waste Land* in *England*, a *River* choaked up that may be made *Navigable*, or even a *Ditch* neglected, that might

be improved into a *Canal*, in Order to reduce the Price of *Transportation*, which is so heavy a Clog upon *Commerce*.

I come now to close this Book with observing something concerning Negotiations with the STATES GENERAL, which from the Diversity of Domestick Interests in the *United Provinces* are perhaps more difficult at the HAGUE than in any other Court of *Europe*.

It is the Interest of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Frize-land* and *Groninghen*, to have great *Fleets*, that may secure their *Commerce*, and contest the Dominion of the Sea with ENGLAND, or any other Maritime Power; whereas *Gelder-land* and *Overyffel*, which make the *Frontier* of the *United Provinces*, depend on the Goodness of their Fortifications, and the Strength of their *Army*; and as for *Utrecht*, tho' it be an *Inland Province*, yet It has been seldom known to dissent from *Holland*, which with the Other *Maritime Provinces*, is very hardly brought into a Resolution to contribute for the Expence of the *Fortifications* and the *Army*, the best Posts of which are enjoyed by the Nobility of *Gelderland* and *Overyffel*, whilst These are equally backward to give Money for the *Protection* of *Commerce*, in the Welfare of which they are no farther concerned, than may enable the *Province*

vince of Holland to pay that very large Proportion which She is obliged to furnish for the Support of the whole.

The Reader will easily imagine that *Public Ministers* find It hard to conciliate such a Variety of Interests, which together with the *Unanimity required by the Constitution of the Republic in all Affairs relating to Peace and War*; is the Cause, that *Negotiations* with their *High Mightinesses*, always run very slow; and I believe there is no Method to cure this, except taking Resolutions in *Conjunction* with the *Province of Holland*, separately from the Rest.

This, indeed, is very seldom practised; but *Holland* will sometimes venture upon It, and when constant to her own Resolution, has never failed to bring over her *Sister Provinces*. Nor will This appear strange, when we consider, that She alone pays, as I have observed above, near *fifty eight per Cent.* of the whole Expences of the Republic; (a) so that it is easy to Negotiate with the *United Provinces*, when the *Grand Pensionary of Holland* is a Person of such Authority, as to be able to answer for his *Province*, which *John De Wit* could always do; But when this Minister proves to be a Man of common Abilities and mode-

(a) See Part I. Page 135.

rate Credit, there is no Expedient so good in Order to come to a quick Decision, as to apply to the *City of Amsterdam*. I have been informed, that this *Town* alone, hindred the *States General* from acceding to the *Quadruple Alliance*: But be that as it will, 'tis certain She has the same Superiority over the *Towns of Holland*, that *Holland* has over the other *Provinces*, and consequently a Negotiation would succeed better at the *Hague*, when the principal Points of It had been adjusted with the *Regents of Amsterdam*: wherefore I have often wondered that the KING of PRUSSIA, should be the only Prince in *Europe*, who entertains a *Resident* there; the Rest having only *Agents*, little capable of any Negotiation of Importance.

Another Reason why the *maritime Powers of Europe* should employ Ministers of the second Order, or *Consuls* at least with the SENATE of AMSTERDAM, is that this City is the chief Seat of the *Dutch East-India Company*, which is known to be Mistress of so Prodigious a Power, that She may almost boast an *Independant Sovereignty*, nor does She stick to make *By-Laws* in the *Indies*, altogether inconsistent with the *Treaties of Commerce* entered into by the *States General* in *Europe*.





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